INTRODUCTION

101 THE people whose lives are described in this book are the
131 Melanesian inhabitants of the island of Buka and of the north
coast of the island of Bougainville, separated by the narrow strip
of turbulent water known as Buka Passage. These two, the most
north-westerly of the Solomon Islands, have since 1920 formed
part of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. The locality was
chosen as likely to afford me an opportunity of studying native
life under relatively primitive conditions.

114 On September 28, 1929, I began work at Petats, a coral islet off
the west coast of Buka, which had been recommended as a suitable
177 starting-point for my inquiry. I soon realized, however, that the
people of Buka as a whole, and of Petats in particular, had already
come under the influence of the white man to such an extent that
much of their original mode of life had disappeared. As they
[198] themselves put it, speaking in pidgin-English: 'White man he
capsize altogether something belong before.' It is true that the
investigation of an erstwhile savage society is a most important
part of present-day anthropology, but I had been instructed
to study a primitive community. A journey round Buka proved
that little was to be gained by moving to any of the villages there.
Meanwhile, I had made the acquaintance of Mrs. Hadden, the
daughter of the anthropologist R. Parkinson, author of *Dreissig
Jahre in der Südsee*. At her suggestion I accepted an invitation
from Pinari, the local headman, to come and stay at Kurtatchi,
a village on the north coast of Bougainville, about ten miles east
of Buka Passage. After a preliminary visit, I settled there on
January 1, 1930. Owing partly to its being less easily accessible,
and partly to the conservatism of its people, I found at Kurtatchi
conditions approximating somewhat more closely to what they had
been before the coming of the white man, though, as will be
evident from my report, far from being unchanged. The bulk
of my information was obtained at this village, which was my
home for nine months; the villages of Tabut and Ruri, on either
side of it, providing valuable additional and corroborative data.

114 The following somewhat personal notes on the manner in which
I lived and worked are given in order to make quite clear the

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

there still remain traces of the hostility that formerly prevailed. 101 There would appear to be some affinity, both in language and in 648 culture, between these two groups, but the slight amount of contact I had with the Hahon people was insufficient to enable me to classify them exactly. The Kunua people, inhabiting the north-central highlands and a portion of the coast about twenty miles south of its north-western corner, differ so much, both in customs and in language, from the people among whom I lived, that even a short visit was enough to indicate that they should probably be considered as a separate cultural entity. The coast folk are still very much afraid of the Kunua people, though there is no longer open warfare between them. They meet but rarely, chiefly on ceremonial occasions, such as those connected with the adolescent boys. These meetings are always characterized by a noticeable feeling of tension.

This book is primarily concerned with the people of the north 121 coast of Bougainville, particularly its western half. With certain exceptions, discussed in their appropriate context, most of the information here given also holds good of the people of Buka, except in so far as changes have been introduced there by contact with whites. Since there are local differences, not due to white influence, I have been careful to give, in all cases, the exact locality from which each piece of information was obtained. Data concerning the provenance of which nothing is said, were collected at Kurtatchi from inhabitants of that village.

The culture of these people is disappearing with increasing [177] rapidity, and their ideas on every subject are being changed day by day through contact with those of our own civilization. It therefore seemed imperative to make my investigation cover as much of their lives as possible. Though the information I have gathered is necessarily affected by the limitations imposed both by time and by my personal predilections and training, I have tried to put on record the most outstanding features of a *modus vivendi* which will, for better or for worse, in a very short time have been altered beyond recognition or recall.

[p. xxiv is blank]

343 keeping plank canoes (*mon*). Dug-outs are usually left on the 501 beach, care being taken to draw them up above high-water mark.

514 No special areas are set apart for latrines. People go into the bush, as a rule not very far away, the women keeping to the area behind their own quarters at the back of the line of huts. In the case of a shore village, the men and boys wander along the beach. 364 Some attempt is made—rather spasmodically—to keep the village clean, each woman sweeping the area round her own hut, with a 412 broom made of bundles of the midribs of coco-nut palm leaves, tied at one end, without a handle. One man at Kurtatchi, more inventive than the others, made a rough wooden shovel, with handle all in one piece, with which to remove pigs' dung. Different villages vary very greatly in the extent to which they are swept and cared for, and as dogs and pigs wander round freely, while everybody constantly flings down areca-nut husks, bits of coco-nut, and miscellaneous oddments, even a short period of neglect suffices to give the village a very unkempt appearance.

342 *Huts*. At Petats, and a few other villages, under the tuition of [177] the Missions, the natives now build themselves houses raised on piles, with plank walls and high-pitched roofs (see Pl. 3 *b*). But in most places, especially in Bougainville, the native type of hut still predominates, built on the bare earth, thatched with sago-palm leaves in the shape of a broad gothic arch, with the roof almost touching the ground on both sides. They are all exactly alike; their appearance can be seen from the photographs. There are no windows. At each end is a very small opening (a typical one measured 21 × 16 in.), serving as entrance and exit, closed by having planks set across it at night or when the hut is left empty. [439] At the present time a few natives have plank doors swung on hinges and perhaps fastened with a bolt bought at the Chinese stores. The doors are raised about 3 ft. from the ground-level, and in front of each is a sort of shelf of split areca-palm trunks, 2 or 3 ft. in width, which serves as a sitting platform or verandah, as well as 342 an aid to scrambling in and out. The end of the hut, facing the 562 dancing space, with its entrance and verandah, is called *tagoan*, 784 and is reserved for the men, women being allowed to use it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's place is at the back, called *babots*, including not only the back 'verandah' but all that portion of ground which adjoins the back of the huts, irregular in its outline because the larger huts project into it farther than the

554 565 Certain groups joined together against a common enemy, and asked one *tsunaun* to lead them all. Something of this extended authority, in a very attenuated condition, still survives. Pinari claimed a vague allegiance from the people of Timputs and Baniu, and said that before the time of the white man his lineage held sway over all the people living along the north coast of Bougainville and some of those of Buka. Pinari had a love of power and a somewhat exaggerated sense of his own importance, and detailed investigation in the area involved might have led to a modification of his statements, but there is no doubt that he had at one time been a *tsunaun* of considerable importance. He claimed that in the olden days his consent had to be asked before a fighting expedition was embarked upon: if he gave it, those who made the request had to pay him a length of ceremonial currency, if he refused it the project would be abandoned. The *tsunaun* was supposed to go to fight with his own people and to keep them together and prevent them from fighting among themselves. If he gave orders which were not obeyed, some of his followers would kill the offenders.

● [17] 622 554 565 Exactly what the powers of the *tsunaun* were in the olden days it is now very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to ascertain. The whole position has been fundamentally altered by the new system introduced by the Germans and continued by the present Government. An official, called the 'kukerai',[1] is appointed for each village, or group of hamlets, who is responsible to the District Officer for the good behaviour of the villagers, but whose right to punish is limited to the imposition of a fine and, if that is ineffective, making a report to the D.O. He wears an official cap and is presented with a staff as a badge of office. He has under him a subordinate officer, called the 'tultul', who is usually chosen because of his ability to speak pidgin-English, so that he can act as interpreter between the natives and the government officials. In appointing the kukerai, inquiries are made of the natives as to the persons they consider of importance, and if possible some one who is *tsunaun* is chosen, when his position as a government official is materially strengthened by the fact that his authority is already recognized in the village. But in some instances the *tsunaun* is either unwilling to take office under the white man, or is

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[1] This word is said to belong to a New Britain dialect and to mean 'one who judges'.

particular, are hedged about with the strictest taboos that are 606
known in this society. The woman is held chiefly responsible for seeing that these rules are kept, but the man, for his part, must take care that difficult situations do not arise through his fault, and that his mother-in-law is not put to undue inconvenience in observing the taboos between them.

A man must not see the face of his female *waris*, nor her hair.
For this reason she carries about with her constantly a kind of [292]
pointed hood made of pandanus leaves, which, when her *waris* is present or expected, or where there is a chance of meeting him by accident, she keeps on her head, and pulls, if necessary, over her face. Most particularly she must never be seen by him while eating, and if she has to eat in his presence, she goes as far away from him as possible, pulls her hood over her face, and eats behind it. On encountering in the bush a party of which any relation a woman calls *waris* is likely to be one, she will leave the path and hide behind a tree till they have gone. I have often sat chatting with a group of women on the beach, when, at the approach of a party of men, some one will whisper '*Waris*', and immediately those who have hoods with them will cover their faces, and those who have not will disappear. This custom was still being observed with the greatest strictness throughout the area at the time of
my visit. A remark deriding it, made by the native R.C. Mission [177]
teacher at Tabut, was the occasion for an outburst of feeling on the part of the women both of that village and of Kurtatchi (described on p. 459). But Mr. Gordon Thomas, in a communication written about a year later, states that it has been abandoned on the island of Pororan (1933, no. 44), and there is no doubt that it will shortly disappear altogether.

Further restrictions on the relations between a man and his
mother-in-law and other female *waris* are as follows: They must [514]
not defecate within sight of one another (in the ordinary way no shame is attached to being seen in the act of defecating). They must not touch one another. They must not sleep in the same house. They must not chew areca-nut in the presence of each other. They must not speak to one another directly, but must converse through the wife.

They must not say each other's personal name, nor even a [55]
substitute name. To refer to each other in speaking to a third party, the term *waris* is used. When there is a child, the mother-

551 has an intimate connexion. Another woman is now called Tchina'eviat;
565 *eviat* is the word for the bamboo rod used in catching bonito, the connexion being that Sarumpots was engaged in bonito-fishing
765 when the accident occurred. The name of Sobak, my next-door neighbour, means 'to make a grab at', as the shark does at its victim, and commemorates the same catastrophe. In cases of importance the old names seem to be dropped completely. I never succeeded in ascertaining what the names of these people had been before. All inquiries were side-stepped by the answer: 'No one uses it.'

551 As previously explained, these substitute names may be used by relatives who are not permitted to say the individual's personal name. The taboo on the names of certain relatives extends to the use of words which are the same as these names, for which some substitute must be found, either a circumlocution or a word from another dialect.

551 These taboos are falling into disuse in consequence of contact
● 177 with the white man. Most of the people at Petats showed no hesitation in saying the names of their taboo relatives when giving me their genealogies, but at Kurtatchi they either gave me a substitute name or the name of the relationship, or asked some one standing by to say the forbidden word. One man, finding himself alone with me, having occasion to speak of his brother's wife, whose name he should not say, whispered: 'She is my *wagun*, but I'll steal her name and say it quietly.'

[559] The whole system of substituting or changing names is destined to disappear in the near future by reason of the introduction of the Government census. 'Name e stop along paper belong white man, no can loose im.'

SUMMARY

612 The outstanding characteristics of the structure of this society
613 may be summarized as follows: The kindred, comprising the mother and the father, the siblings of both, and their children, is
591 the unit of which the individual is most aware in relation to the ordinary give-and-take of everyday life. In general, the tie between the individual and his relatives on the mother's side of the house (his lineage) is the stronger, but much depends upon whether the individual is living in the mother's or the father's village. This is to some extent a matter of his parents' choice, but if one individual

184 she is preceded by a man carrying a wooden figure (*kaisa*) representing
532 a woman, carved out of soft wood, about three feet high,
565 and realistically painted, no physical features being omitted. A
585 long pole-like handle is carved in one piece with the figure, by
means of which the figure is carried on high like a standard. It is set
down beside the door of the hut, and after the bride has gone in,
it is taken to the *tobar* belonging to the men of the bridegroom's
[842] mother's clan, and carefully stored there. This figure, although
that of an adult, represents the woman's future child; its purpose
is to ensure that she will soon conceive. It is female because it is
[562] desirable that her first child shall be a girl. Female children are
much desired in this community because, descent being matrilineal,
the children of a woman who is *tsunaun* will themselves be
tsunaun and carry on the line, whatever the position of their father.
When once the figure is placed in the *tobar* it may not be taken out
again, for if a woman were to see it the child would die. It remains
in the *tobar* until the child is fully grown, when it is destroyed. But
the hold of this belief is weakening, and on my expressing a desire to
purchase one such figure which was shown to me, I was permitted
to do so, on condition that I carried it away carefully swathed in
wrappings, and did not allow any of the native women to see it, a
promise which I took care to keep. It is reproduced in Pl. 8*a*.

532 There are certain men who know how to carve these figures.
435 Unless the bridegroom's family numbers one of these among its
members, they have to pay one string of *beroan* and give a pig to
the man who makes it, or they may pay another six strings of
beroan in lieu of the pig.

532 The use of these figures is rapidly dying out on the island of
●177 Buka and its adjacent islets, owing to discouragement by the
missionaries on the ground that they are obscene. On Bougainville,
171 very similar figures are made for use in the *watawutʃ* ceremony
(see Pl. 28), but so far as I could ascertain they are not used in the
marriage rites in that region.

584 SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

Occasion	*Transactions*
1. Betrothal, when both are children, the girl often quite a baby.	Father of boy presents spear hung with one string of *beroan* to mother of girl. Betel-mixture chewed.

839 539 hurry up and make a new house? Who is it you want to sleep with?' She said: 'What are you talking about? I haven't got a husband.' 'I think some man is having intercourse with you in the bush.' 'No, that is not so.' Then she went to look at the banana to see whether it had grown big yet, and she said: 'Why have you not grown big?' Then she went back to the village, and stayed there for awhile.

Another day she went to the bush again, and a little girl went behind her, and heard her talking to the bush banana. The little girl thought she was talking to a man. Then she saw it was only a banana. So she went back to the village, and told the father of the woman: 'Your daughter is having an affair with a banana, that's all.' Then her father broke up the house, and cut the thatch of the roof into pieces, and broke up the walls. He was angry with his daughter because she was in love with a banana.

839 I once saw a woman take the flower of a banana palm and hold it to her breast, pretending to give it suck. She said: 'This is my child.' She had been divorced, had not remarried, and was childless.

CLOTHING AND SHAME

291 Before the advent of the whites, men wore no clothing of any kind, not even a pubic leaf. Women wore a waist string of thin fibre, from which a bunch of leaves depended in front, scarcely covering their genitals, and providing but scanty concealment except from a direct frontal view. These conditions still obtain in the mountain districts of central Bougainville.

291 177 At the present time, the Government expects all the natives under control to wear a loin-cloth. This is further stressed by the missionaries, who require that even the smallest infants shall be thus attired if brought to religious services. Otherwise, little children of both sexes generally go naked, though it is becoming increasingly common to dress them in loin-cloths also. The garment, known by the pidgin-English term *laplap*, consists of a length of cloth passed once round the waist, with the ends folded over and tucked in. Great care is taken to adjust it correctly and to keep it in position. It usually falls to the knees, but may be longer or shorter. The older men and women often discard their loin-cloths when working hard or when they are ill. The women, however, are seldom seen entirely naked, but retain a bit of rag depending in front, or the old-time bunch of leaves. The younger people are never without their laplaps, even bathing in the sea thus clad. The garment is retained at night.

Take portions of the roots of the tree called *wagag* (a small palm resembling an areca-palm, possibly another variety, but the nuts are not normally used for chewing). Scrape bits off these roots, and let the woman chew them with the betel-mixture, taking care to swallow some of it. 842 824

It is understood that a woman may be sterile without having taken a contraceptive. In the course of giving genealogies informants would sometimes remark, speaking of a childless marriage: 'This woman was not able to have children.' They clearly make a distinction, in talking about persons known to them, between this state of affairs and one in which 'the woman's belly was fast' because she had taken one of the medicines. There was no suggestion that the fault might lie with the male, provided that he was capable of performing the act of coitus. 842

In this connexion it may be added that I gathered from Government officials and missionaries with some medical training that there is very little venereal disease in this area. Such information as I received from the natives corroborates this. 164

PREGNANCY

Pregnancy is suspected after the omission of one menstrual period, unless the woman has been taking one of the numerous medicines (described on p. 269) which are supposed to control or inhibit the flow, in which case she will wait awhile before accepting the fact of pregnancy. They do not keep any tally of the time, and their only means of judging when to expect the birth is by the appearance of the abdomen and breasts. 843 [805]

There is no ceremony such as takes place among the Trobrianders (Malinowski, 1929, p. 184) or the people of New Ireland (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 60), when a woman first discovers that she is pregnant. In the olden days she used to make a belt of a special creeper called *isus*, and to wear hanging from the front of it leaves of a particular plant (*nai'iar*). As every one now wears a loin-cloth, this practice is falling into disuse, though some women wear the belt and the appropriate leaves on the top of the loin-cloth. [292 824 177]

CEREMONY FOR PREGNANT WOMAN

Towards the end of the pregnancy a ceremony is performed with the object of ensuring easy delivery. The only estimate of

a cane. He and two others came to the end of the landing-stage 857
with slow formal steps, then stopped to take the salute, then he
went round saying a few words to one or other of the children in 524
the line, and finally threw among them bits of stick and pigs' teeth for which they scrambled, it being the custom of the Governor to provide tobacco and sweets to be scrambled for at the conclusion of his visit. It was all done very solemnly, till the final scramble, [177
which ended in shrieks of laughter. After that there were races, 526]
in the fashion taught them by the Mission.

At Kurtatchi the children used to play a game in which one of their number imitated the actions of a person who is *iburar* (made mad by the spirits, as described on pp. 516–21) and the others pretended to be frightened and ran away from him, till some of them seized him and held him down.

One night two Petats children gave a dancing display, with a 857
circle of admiring adults round them. They did a number of steps
which do not occur in the very stereotyped ceremonial dances 535
which are the only ones practised in this area, and seemed to be inventing their movements, which caused much amusement and approbation. But I think this was exceptional, and as a rule, the children were content to show off to one another, or to me. One little girl would go through a series of acrobatic feats, twisting herself about, or lifting another child and holding her horizontally, looking all the while to see whether I was watching. Other children will act for their own amusement, when alone. A little boy who lived near me at Petats used to carry on conversations with himself, in two voices, so different that I frequently looked over to see whether another child had come up. He did not know that I was observing him.

Toys.

Such toys as these children have are made, usually at the time 524
when they are wanted, of the products of the bush. They are few in number, and very crude in construction, but they serve their turn.

Babies have rattles made of shells, with the tongue either of a 524
smaller shell or of a dog's tooth. They may consist of a single shell
on the end of a short string of shell-disks, or of several such strings 534
tied together (Pl. 16). They are used also by adults at dances and other ceremonial occasions. I have sometimes seen women string

824 178 I have sometimes CHILDHOOD see women string
524 together the ball-like fruit of the carophyllum tree to make a rattle
531 for their babies.

524 Carophyllum balls are used also as playthings by the women,
who take two of them in their hands, hold a shell in one hand,
throw a ball into the air and knock the other against the shell before
the first falls and is caught. But apart from this kind of catching
game, there seems to be very little idea of playing with a ball. This
seems curious, in view of all the round fruits and nuts, &c., to be
found in the bush, but perhaps the explanation is that most of
526 these will not bounce. When I gave a ball to a small boy he did
not know what to do with it, but the new plaything soon caught
● 177 their interest and my balls became very popular. Young men
returned from working on plantations have brought back footballs, and this game is now played in most of the villages, in a rough and tumble style, chiefly, if not exclusively, by the older boys and men.

524 Whenever a pig is killed there is great competition among the children for the bladder to blow up into a balloon, the orifice being fastened with a piece of fibre string. If a pregnant sow is killed the embryos are also seized for playthings; the children who are lucky enough to get them run about the village with them all day, showing them to everybody. They carry them about until they tire of them and throw them away.

526 The boys have miniature bows with which they use arrows made out of the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf. With these they shoot fish, small birds, bats, and occasionally opossum, and they also play at shooting at a mark, such as the top of a tall tree. Even the very small boys were, many of them, quite good at this.

They have mock fights, using sticks instead of spears. These are sometimes quite elaborate affairs, with a number of boys on each side, when they go through the pretence of killing some of the other side, carrying them off, and cutting them up preparatory to making a meal of them, the other side retaliating by doing the same to its own prisoners. Finally, the leader of one side makes peace by sending a message to the leader of the other side to come and chew the betel-mixture with him, the areca-nut which it is customary to send as a symbol being represented by a stone. The affair ends with a friendly meal, in which stones take the place of taro and sand is used for ceremonial pudding.

524 Top-spinning is supposed to be a seasonal game, which should

524 857 along the ground. More children then join in, each sitting on the feet of the one behind. There seem to be no words to this game, and the name of it has no meaning.

The native version of 'Ring-a-ring o' roses' is played to the formula '*a goro pio ma ĕtʃĕ ia si gin, ia si gin*', which is also meaningless.

524 857 ● 177 Another game is said to belong properly to the island of Nissan. When I saw it, on the beach at Tabut, the children made a little mound of sand and sat round it in a circle, holding in their hands bits of stick ornamented with flowers and leaves tied on to them. Chanting, slowly and somewhat mournfully, the syllables '*Sororŏwi, sororŏwi, rŏwi, rŏwi*'—which they could not explain—they passed the sticks from hand to hand. A man standing by told me that at Nissan it is played by older people, and that the man 'makes magic' over the stick before handing it to the girl of his choice; this makes her desire him and afterwards they go off and have sexual connexion together. As I saw it, it appeared to be merely a game, and the children were quite little.

SEXUAL PLAY AND SEX KNOWLEDGE OF CHILDREN

864 On the whole, it seemed to me that there was comparatively little sexual interest in their games and behaviour to each other. The segregation of the boys wearing the upi may perhaps have some bearing on this. I have seen imitations of the act of coitus performed by children; they were done quite openly, but amounted to no more than taking up the appropriate position. On one occasion this was done by two boys, aged perhaps about ten, both wearing the *upi*. They laughed heartily all the while, and volunteered to me the explanation of what they were doing. The point of it, to them, seemed to lie in mimicking their elders. Some younger children once told me, in the course of general chatter, that they had been copulating in the bush; these included both boys and girls, but as all were obviously much below the age of puberty such sexual play as may have taken place between them must have been purely imitative, and possibly they were only romancing.

Small children who finger their own genitals or those of their companions are always promptly reproved by an older child or an adult. Sometimes a boy will pretend to cut off a smaller boy's penis with a knife or a sharp shell.

Children, as often as adults, of both sexes, told myths and stories

881 in pulling down the trees was cut up into small bits and thrown
574 into the stream. The men were particularly careful not to let any
487 of the pieces get lodged behind boulders, but pushed them all out
so that they were carried downstream, in order to obliterate all
signs of human agency in the destruction along the way.

881 After crossing the river we went up a steep hill to a large clearing
near the top. This place was called Kuruwiowan, and had been
574 cleared especially for this ceremony. When another group wishes
to hold a similar ceremony, another site must be selected and
cleared. The place was well chosen. The ground still sloped upward slightly, and also fell away on one side, leading to a steep hill going down to a narrow valley through which a small stream was running, with another steep rise on the further side. A few trees were left standing in the main clearing, and a trail was cut down one of the hill-sides. Round the edge of the main clearing were smaller ones with rough shelters of poles and banana leaves; inside some of these there were men munching taro.

The crowd that came with us rushed up the hill shouting and brandishing their weapons; turned and rushed down again; divided into two halves which charged each other. Some men appeared carrying joints of roast pig, baskets of taro, and coconuts. They took the food up the hill and put it into a shed at the top, where a crowd of visitors promptly fell upon it. Presently there was more shouting and wild charging. A band of men from Kunua had arrived and were being welcomed in the prescribed manner. Another band, from Raua, came behind them, only to find that the first comers had eaten all the food. For a moment it looked as though the mock fight was going to become a
881 real one. This is not uncommon. I learned from Pinari later that
574 in the olden days, if the amount of food provided was insuffi-
579 cient, the guests retaliated by killing the hosts, including the
women and children, burning their houses, cutting down their
● 177 coco-nut trees, and spearing their pigs. Nowadays, since the
fear of the District Officer is upon them, they mostly content themselves with growling and cutting down coco-nut trees. Up in the hills, however, they are less amenable to discipline than on the coast, and if the mob now assembled had really got
881 angry there might have been trouble. But being promised that
574 more food should be forthcoming, the new-comers joined the
others in the sham combats that took place at short intervals, as

A SECOND *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 Towards the end of my residence at Kurtatchi I had another
opportunity of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, performed by the group
574 of villages in the mountains behind the north-eastern corner of
621 the island. The people of Kurtatchi were invited as guests, and
Pinari made no objection to my accompanying them. Our party
consisted of eight men, five of the bigger *upi* boys, and myself.
The journey was considered too long for the smaller boys. We
spent the night at Baniu. Next day we were joined by parties of
[578] men and boys from several coast villages and one from the hills.
The hill-men were regarded with great suspicion by the coast
people, who took care to keep well behind them. We walked to
the accompaniment of much shouting and yelling and blowing
[411] of conch-shells. All were armed, with bows and arrows, knives,
axes or spears; those who had no weapons cut themselves lengths
of bamboo to serve as spears. Pinari cut one for me, saying that he
was afraid the people of the mountains would be angry with him for
having brought a woman, so I had better be a man for the occasion.
He enjoined me to keep close to him and to do exactly as he did. Some
time after passing through Raua Plantation we turned inland.

We were quite a large party when, after scrambling up a steep and slippery hill-side, we finally reached the appointed spot, a cleared place in the heart of the forest. We arrived in the prescribed manner, in a rush, brandishing our weapons, sounding conch-shells, and yelling at the tops of our voices, and were met by a similar party of those who had arrived before us, with the usual mock combat. There were a few moments of great excitement, the crowd now numbering several hundred.

184 The mountain people, as they appeared at this ceremony,
certainly were a wild-looking lot. They have not adopted the
● 177 fashion of wearing a loin-cloth, now almost universal along the
291 coast, and many of them had not even the usual belt of string
or leaves. Nearly all, old and young, had their faces painted in
weird patterns of red and white; some had a smear of colour all
184 round their eyes, some a series of white lines drawn obliquely
302 across their cheeks, some had patterns carried out in dots. Several
wore head-dresses made of feathers. The adolescent boys belong-
291 ing to this group had been through the *watawutʃ* ceremony, and
so were permitted to remove their *upi*, and most of them had done

778 534 [436 824] few know how to make it; those who do not must pay a man to make one when they need it. It must be paid for with *imun* (ceremonial currency made of porpoise or flying fox teeth) and several pigs. The wood of either of two trees may be used, the names of which are *iwiŋ* and *torus*; both are hard-timbered trees. The string is called *inuts*, but is the ordinary twisted fibre string. To sound the bull-roarer is *wawiura*.

881 534 778 The bull-roarer may be sounded during the preparations for the *wapi* ceremony, as well as during the actual performance. During this time the men of one village will sometimes go in the night and sound the bull-roarer outside another village belonging to the group, whereupon the men of the second village must bring out a pig and give it to the bull-roarer party. Shortly afterwards they will go and sound their own bull-roarers outside the original village, and will receive a pig in return. This is all a part of the mystification of the women, who know that the time is near when their sons will be taken from them by the *urar*, and who believe—or are supposed to believe—that it is his voice which is heard near the village during the night, calling for the boys. If the men of any village were to sound the bull-roarer at any other time, all the other places would be very angry, and would 'make poison' against the men of the offending village. The bull-roarer is too terrible a thing to be played with, even though the men all know what it really is.

534 773 Like the *upi*, the bull-roarer is supposed to have belonged in the first place to a woman. The story of its origin runs as follows:

539 A woman once went to cut firewood in the bush. When she had finished cutting firewood the sun had already gone down. She picked up a piece of wood and knocked it on a log. It split in two. One piece flew up into the air and made a noise like this (here the teller imitated the noise made by the bull-roarer). The woman jumped up in a fright: 'What is that?' Then she thought: 'It is something very good. It belongs to me, I found it.' She threw away the other half of the broken

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● [177] press the matter. A rather more sophisticated man from another village also refused, saying that the people would be angry with him if he did. However, shortly before I left, one of the younger men, who had been a plantation labourer, came to me secretly with one which he had made, saying I could have it if I did not tell any one he had made it. Eventually he brought me also two which had actually been in use, under the same conditions of secrecy, but with the permission of his father, to whom they belonged. Though I was glad to be able to bring home specimens of the bull-roarer, the incident shows only too plainly how the traditional sanctions are weakening.

882 elsewhere, and that opportunities for eating the forbidden nuts with
little danger of discovery are legion, I suspect that this rule is more
262 honoured in theory than in practice, in spite of the urgent necessity
of having a good growth of hair to show at the *watawutʃ*. But
considerable stress was laid upon it in all our talks upon the subject,
and its theoretical importance is also clear from the fact that fathers,
and, less frequently, mothers of boys wearing the hat will voluntarily refrain from eating canarium almonds in sympathy with their sons. Sobak and his wife Tsonakets were doing so while I was in residence at Kurtatchi.

882 In the olden days the *upi* boys might never be seen in the act
264 of eating, but had to take their food into the *tobar* and consume it
● 177 in private. They were not allowed to handle knives, so it was the
duty of their *amro* to cut up their food for them. This custom is
no longer observed.

882 They may chew the betel-mixture, but must use with it only the
276 leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is preferred under
ordinary circumstances.

III. *Regulations concerning personal appearance.*

882 The hair of the boys is never cut or trimmed from the time they
302 go into the bush before the *wapi* ceremony until it is ceremonially
cut short at the *wasipsip*. It is pushed up underneath the *upi*,
except for a few straggling ends on neck and forehead.

593 The fathers of boys wearing the *upi* sometimes lay themselves
under a similar prohibition as regards cutting their hair, which
302 they tie up into a knot on the top of the head. This method of hairdressing is seen in Plate 52. Mothers do not cut their hair over the temples, and do not put paint on it. This custom is not obligatory upon either sex, and is followed only by a few.

826 There are certain 'medicines' for making the hair grow long, of
824 which the following is a typical example:

789 Take the long (tap) root of the plant *niyowan* (unidentified). Chew
the end of it with the betel-mixture, spit out the resulting mash into your hand and put it inside the hat, pushing it well up to the top. It will pull up the hair and make it grow longer. The longer the root you chew, the longer your hair will be.

882 The boys may not wear red paint on their hair, or white paint
302 on their temples, except as prescribed for the various ceremonies,
when it is put on by their *amro*. In one case the *amro* of a boy

593 which her duties and responsibilities were always towards her mother or her mother-in-law, she must now launch out for herself, not only entering into new and often difficult physical relations with a man who is practically a stranger to her, but also assuming the responsibility of providing food for him, of caring for their home, and, probably very soon, of bearing him a child. This great change in her circumstances may take place soon after, or in some cases even shortly before, her arrival at physiological maturity, or it may be delayed for some time.

777 The establishment of Mission schools is tending to alter the
prospects of the adolescent girl in places within their sphere of
871 influence. The possibility is now open to her of attending boarding-
●177 school, and thus of postponing for several years her marriage and,
862 in the case of the younger girls, her betrothal. She is just beginning
to assert her right to accept or reject the advances of her suitors,
582 instead of passively acquiescing in a match arranged by her parents.
At Petats there were several unmarried adolescent girls. One even announced her intention to remain so, saying that she preferred her freedom. But the point of view of the majority was probably better represented by the girl who said that she didn't want to stay single and have all sorts of things said about her. If occasion arises, the young people may even go so far as to question the authority of the taboo forbidding marriage with certain classificatory relatives. One couple, whom I knew, proposed, to the horror of their parents, to marry in spite of the fact that they stood to each other in the relationship of *mataha* ('brother and sister') since their grandmothers were sisters. In the end, however, the opposition was too strong for them, and the affair was broken off.

5 777 It is evident that the whole system of betrothal and marriage
will eventually disappear, and be replaced, under the tuition of the
177 missions, by something approximating to our own, involving the
582 break-down of much of the native social structure. Whether they
will make more of a success of marriage under these conditions than we do, or than they do under their own system, remains to be seen. On the face of it, and in view of the evidence cited in the Chapter III, there seems reason to think that the early part of married life, at any rate, would be made happier by the change. But it is hard to foretell what effect a radical change such as this is going to have on the life of a primitive community.

Ruri, the next village to Kurtatchi, there was a girl of rank for 881
whom this should have been done, but the proceedings were reduced to a short period of seclusion and the cooking of the *pipiro*. 797
It would have been performed for Nawi at Kurtatchi, a much more 177
conservative village than Ruri, had it not been that the village was engaged in preparations for the *watawutʃ*, this involving modification of the first menstruation rite, since it is strictly taboo to 'go up bananas' under these circumstances. The following account of what actually took place is transcribed from my diary.

FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS PERFORMED FOR NAWI

September 12, 1930. On my walk round the village this morning 159
I found all the women greatly excited, because it has just been
discovered that Nawi has started her first menstrual flux. This had 881
been anticipated for several months, and the women had often told me that it was sure to happen soon. They had been very much looking forward to it, and are very disappointed that the banana-palm ceremony cannot be held because the time is approaching for the holding of the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

All the older women went into the bush and gathered quantities [824]
of cordyline leaves, which they must wear tucked into cane girdles at their waists during the ceremony. Nawi remained in her mother's hut. Her friend Kiots, with whom she generally goes about, is staying in the hut with her. Kiots experienced her first period [565]
some months ago, but the banana-palm ceremony was not held for her because she is a commoner. She is keeping Nawi company now out of friendship, not ceremonially. The two little girls who are her official companions are Talewu and Beawon. Talewu is the *mani*. Talewu is the daughter of Poa, Nawi's father, by another mother, who is sister to Nawi's mother (by the same father but a different mother). Nawi calls Talewu *kiar* (sib of the same sex). It follows that Talewu belongs to the same clan as Nawi, viz. Naboin. But Beawon, who is not related to Nawi (there is no relationship term used between them), belongs to the other clan,
Nakaribo. This is contrary to the information given me previously [183]
by Pari and other women, who said that the two little companions of the girl must belong to the same clan as herself. It would thus seem that in this, as in many other particulars, the rules are not strictly adhered to.

All the people of the village, men and women, members of both

VIII

DIET, COOKING, AND MEALS

THE people of Buka and North Bougainville are acquainted with white man's food in the shape of canned meat and rice, which are served as rations to those working as indentured labourers, and are occasionally seen even in the villages, either brought home by returned labourers, or purchased at a trader's store. But except for this, the natives are still entirely dependent for their food supply on what they can obtain by their own exertions, either individual or concerted, from their immediate environment. Thanks to the climatic and geographical conditions under which they live, they are not often faced with actual scarcity, but the provision of their daily bread requires constant activity, and occupies, even at the best of times, a large portion of their waking lives, while the amassing of a quantity of food such as is required for any special occasion causes them no little anxiety. 262 [177]

Except, possibly, for the addition of a few fruits, brought into the country of later years by the whites, their diet has probably not changed appreciably since the introduction of the pig. The list which follows does not claim to be exhaustive, but it is at least fully representative, and I do not think that any item of importance has been omitted. [177]

LIST OF FOODSTUFFS

(*The native terms are given in the Kurtatchi dialect*)

1. *Vegetables, nuts, and fruit*

Taro (*tamū*)
Sweet potato (*hamar*)
Tuber resembling a potato (*durum* or *rurum*)
Yam (*ta'oie*)
Bread-fruit (*bausis*)
Pumpkins and squashes (*setes*)
Sugar-cane (*meyoy*)
Mushrooms, several varieties (generic term *kikui*)
Leaves of taro and other plants (*kuhen*)
Heart of coco-nut palm
A species of seaweed
Coco-nut (generic term *ūir*)
Canarium almond (*winoa*)
Indian almond (Terminalia catappa) (*köt*)
Barringtonia (*harū*)
Banana (generic term, *uerton* or *pa'un*)
Passion fruit (wild)
Mango (*ma'et*)
Pawpaw (*mamiok*)
Orange and lime (pidgin-English term *moli* or *muri* used)

[p. 271]

262 crop was just about finished when I left at the end of September.
222 Throughout the season they are brought in every day in large
quantities, women and girls walking many miles to collect them,
and spending hours hunting for them among the fallen leaves and
underbrush that cover the ground everywhere in the bush (*ahuit
winoa* = to gather almonds from the ground). I went with them
on many occasions, and can testify to their diligence. The trees
are much prized, and are always left standing when a patch of
ground is cleared for a new taro garden.

252 The nuts are cracked with a stone or a lump of coral. They
are always eaten immediately, unless it is desired to use them to
make ceremonial pudding, when they are grated on rough coral,
or pounded, and mixed with taro. So far as I know, these people
251 do not store the nuts for future use, or smoke them as is done at
Sa'a (Ivens, 1927, p. 367).

Ceremony for first almonds.

222 Up till recently a ceremony was performed, corresponding with
788 that described by Ivens for the SE. Solomons (p. 367), on the
occasion of the ripening of the first almonds. Owing to the dis-
[797 approval of the native mission teacher, it did not take place in the
● 177] year of my residence, but I obtained the following account of it.

When the first ripe nuts are discovered, probably by finding on the ground some whose fleshy, purple outer covering has been eaten by the pigeons, who throw down the hard centre, men collect stones suitable for cracking the almonds, and take them to the bush. Some of them climb the tree whose nuts are ripe first. Others stay below. Those in the tree throw down a large number of nuts and then come down and join those below. Some crack the nuts, others bring them to the men who are busy cracking them. The women must stop in the village, except for a few who go to the garden to bring back a supply of taro.

When the men have cracked plenty of almonds, they get a leaf of the bush banana and pour all the kernels into it. They all hold it by its edges and stretch it out to its full length. Two logs are cut and laid on the ground parallel to one another; short pieces of wood are laid on top of these transversely. The leaf full of almonds is laid on these transverse logs, and covered up with another banana leaf. The two leaves and their contents are then tied firmly together with rough cane or creeper, and the supporting logs are taken

524 a coco-nut palm is hung up on a branch, and the tops are thrown at it. There are also competitions to see whose top spins longest. The grown men join the children in this game, but the women are
[562 not allowed to play it. After this top spinning becomes general;
184] it is not played for some time previously. (At Petats they did not observe this rule.)

574 The 'time of the almond' is also made the occasion for reciprocal feasts between friendly villages, which have more of a social than of a ceremonial character. The older men will say to the boys: 'You fellows go and get a lot of almonds and make a Tukis.' (Tukis is the name of a group of tiny creatures somewhat similar to our hobgoblins; they are discussed in Chapter XV.) So the boys go to the bush and collect a great quantity of nuts, and bring them to the village, and arrange them on the ground in the central space, in the form of a man; they make his head, and his body, and his arms, and
[302 his legs. Then the people of the village all paint themselves with
533] red and black paint, and they play Pan-pipes, and walk round as they do at a *kōma*, while they are cracking the nuts. This is one of the very few occasions on which they *kōma* in daylight; usually it is only done at night. They invite the people of a neighbouring village, who all come with Pan-pipes and join in the *kōma*. Then every one feasts on the nuts. A short time after, the village which was thus invited gives a similar feast in its turn, and asks the people of the former village. After this, if the boys, who naturally much enjoy these festive occasions, ask the *tsunaun* if they may have another, they are told: 'No, our guests have returned the one we gave before, we cannot have another now.'

262 Most of the many varieties of bananas are eaten either raw or
252 cooked, but there are some, including one very large plantain (*kaŋ*), which are not palatable until cooked. These are usually boiled in a pot, skin and all. A smaller yellow kind (*tomra*) is usually skinned before being laid on hot embers to roast.

177 Oranges and limes grow in the vicinity of most villages and are much appreciated by the natives. They are always eaten raw.
262 The oranges do not change colour when ripe, but remain green; the inside is pale, somewhat resembling the colour of a grape-fruit. They are sweet and juicy. I understand that they are not indigenous, as is also the case with the pawpaw (*Carica Papaya*). This is eaten raw, like a melon, and generally while still, according to our ideas, very far from ripe.

picked out from the shell, after being cooked, with a splinter of 252
wood. The liquid in which they have been boiled (*siro*) is drunk
from the pot, spooned up with a half-coco-nut shell or a mussel
shell, and is much appreciated. At the end of one such meal
I asked my hostess to pick out specimens of all the different
kinds of shell-fish which had been in the pot; she gave me nineteen
different shells, with the native name of each.

Trepang (*bêche-de-mer*) are very plentiful, but are not used as 262
food. Melanesians are amused at the idea of their being eaten, and
laugh at the Chinese for doing so. (There are several Chinese
stores in this area, so they are acquainted with this habit.)

Crabs are a frequent addition to a meal; I collected the names of
twenty varieties which are eaten. A large land-crab called *amo'on*
is especially liked. But the robber-crab (*Birgus latro*), which
Guppy (1887, p. 322) reports as being considered a luxury by the
Shortland Islanders, is not eaten by the people of the north coast
of Bougainville. The question did not arise while I was at Petats,
but when we were discussing it at Kurtatchi, on the occasion of
the game described on p. 13, my servant said that the Petats [177] ●
people used never to eat them in the past, but the Fijian teacher
had said they were good, and now they were much liked 'because
they have so much grease'. The hermit-crab (*kubar*) which is very
plentiful, and takes possession of almost any shell lying about
empty, is never eaten as it is considered dirty.

Turtles are sometimes to be had. They are most easily caught 225
by visiting an island on which they have landed to lay their eggs, 262
when they may be turned on their backs and collected at leisure.
I have also several descriptions of a method of catching turtles in
a net from a canoe; this involves a man diving so as to lift the
creature into the canoe. They say that men sometimes meet their
death in this work, by getting caught in the net and finding themselves
unable to come to the surface. Turtle meat is cooked by [252]
being wrapped in packets of leaves and placed in the embers; the
eggs are treated in a similar manner, and are considered a great
delicacy. The turtles of this district are mostly of the variety
known as 'green-backs', the shells of which are of little or no value
commercially.

Crocodiles are not eaten, as a rule, but I was informed that if 262
a crocodile kills or maims a native, and is afterwards caught, his 727
flesh is cooked and eaten, apparently as an insult, in the same

in the canarium almond, since it occurs in the European almond. 146
If taro (a species of *Colocasia*) may be compared to dasheen (*Caladium colocasia*), it probably supplies A, B, and C, but only in small amount.

I regret that I did not pay more attention to the daily quantity 261
of food consumed. In times of ceremonial feasting it is very greatly increased, especially as regards flesh foods. At such times every one eats to satiety, and the feast is considered eminently successful if a quantity of food is left over to lie rotting on the ground at its close. A typical meal for a man under ordinary circumstances 262
might consist of five or six medium-sized taro tubers and one or 146
two small fish, the other items appearing occasionally. The enormous preponderance of taro, which is the groundwork of every meal, would, one may suppose, result in an excess of carbohydrates in the diet,[1] but it is noteworthy that 'carbohydrate is the best material to have on hand for muscular activity', and that it is 'from the point of view of physiological economy, the most economical food' (Hutchison and Mottram, '33, p. 58). The protein content of the ordinary everyday meal is rather low, and there is probably a deficiency in the amount of fat provided, which perhaps accounts to some extent for the relish with which lumps of pig's fat are consumed when available.

While on a journey into the mountains of the Kunua district, 177
starting some twenty miles down the west coast, I saw a patch of maize. 243
I was told that it had originally been planted by some men who had brought it back with them on their return from working as indentured labourers. The coast people do not cultivate it, but they might well do so, as Mrs. Hadden was quite successful in her attempts to grow it on her plantation, proving that local conditions are not unsuited to it. In view of the high nutritive value and vitamin content of maize it might be of some benefit to the natives if facilities for obtaining seed could be provided for them; they might then be induced to cultivate and use it as a regular addition to their diet.

It is worthy of note that though the sago-palm grows in this 137
district in considerable numbers, its leaves being much in demand 824

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[1] Maiden (1889, p. 18) gives the following analysis, taken from a descriptive catalogue of the Japanese exhibits at the Health Exhibition, London, 1884: Albumen 1·427; Fat 0·080; Glucose 0·120; Starch 10·400; Pectose, &c. 1·154; Ash 0·987; Water 85·202.

the taro garden with their loads, or from the reef with their little 512 [264] baskets of shell-fish. They begin by fetching firewood from the bush; huge loads are carried on their backs by means of slings of 512 banana fibre hung from both shoulders after the manner of a ruck- 313 sack. The small girls must help in this work, each according to 482 her carrying capacity; they must also bring water. The meal does 883 not differ greatly from that taken in the morning, except that more is eaten. Its main dish is invariably taro, either boiled or roasted, 262 sometimes supplemented by yams, sweet-potato, or green leaves, or bread-fruit when in season. For the much needed 'relish' there will be fish, or shell-fish, or perhaps opossum, if any have been caught during the day.

Meals may be taken either inside or outside the hut, but are 264 most frequently eaten on the women's verandah. They are shared by all the occupants of the hut, without rule of precedence, men [521] and women eating together, and are times of pleasant chat and laughter, especially when the family sits at leisure after their hunger has been satisfied and discusses what is to be done that day, or what has been done, if the day is over. A man and his two wives, who usually occupy adjacent huts, will often share their meal on the verandah of one of them, with the children of both in great evidence. The adolescent girls eat with their parents, and the smaller fry hover about, scrambling on and off the verandah, getting such portions of food as their elders hand over to them. But the family circle is not complete, for the boys wearing the *upi* may not join it. They come to the door at the men's side of the house to have their food handed out to them, then they must take it away and eat it on the verandah of their *tobar*, or where they please, so long as they avoid the proximity of the women. It will be remembered also that persons standing to each other in the relationship of *sugan*, *watʃitʃio*, and *nevan* may not eat in one another's presence (see Chap. II), and that if a woman eats in the presence of her daughter's husband she must do so behind her hood.

Utensils used in the preparation and consumption of food are 415 simple and few. Nowadays an occasional enamel saucepan, and [177] perhaps a cup and a plate or two, will be seen in the villages, brought in by some returned plantation labourer. But most families do their cooking with the aid of native pots, of which they will possess at least two or three of different sizes. For

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

workers often erect temporary shelters (*tanū*) of banana leaves on 244
the spot and remain there for weeks at a time, thus saving them- 343
selves the long walk to the garden in the morning and back again
at night. They bring down a minimum of household goods, a
sleeping-plank and a cooking-pot, and often do not trouble to
construct more than a roof and a back to their shelter.

In the olden days, when stone implements were the only tools 412
available, large trees were brought down by burning them at their
base. Now that trade axes and knives can be obtained the trees 177
are felled a few feet from the roots, leaving the stumps standing. 244
Trees with a food value, such as canarium almonds, are always 313
spared. The undergrowth is cut down and left lying where it falls
till it is dry; eventually it is made into large heaps and burned,
except for the thick stems of the bush banana plants which contain
so much moisture that they will not burn. These are arranged in
orderly piles, kept in place by stakes on each side, and left to rot.

In the ordinary way taro is planted as a routine matter without 244
any ceremonial attaching to the operation. But there are certain 824
'medicines' which may be used if desired. Some of these are the
sole prerogative of the women, some may be used by both sexes. [562]
I have a considerable number of these 'prescriptions' in my collection, some of the more interesting run as follows:

Buruetē (*Eranthemum* sp.).

Chew scrapings from the roots of this plant with the betel-mixture,
spit on hand, rub shell-knife with which taro stalk is trimmed before
planting, and knife (trade) with which ground is weeded. Rub also on
taro. Your taro will be good when other people's is bad. Used only [562]
by women.

Magor (a mixture, described on p. 475).

Chew some *magor* with betel-mixture. Spit it on to a piece of stick
which grew in the taro garden, then spit on the cut end of the stalks
that are to be planted, and say: '*Ar wayas nor ū mū so nuts tſan.*' 'You [562]
and I spit on the taro, now it is large.' Used only by women.

Tſiab (plant unidentified).

Chew roots with *magor* and betel-mixture. Spit on hand, rub on stalk of taro before planting. After doing this a man must not go fishing, and a woman must not go to the shore or hunt for shell-fish on the reef. If this prohibition is not kept the taro leaves will shrivel and dry up. The time during which it is observed was not to be ascertained.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

The work was done very rapidly and was well co-ordinated, so 244
that there was no confusion, although there was a large number 796
of people working in close juxtaposition. Though it was long after
noon when the planting started the whole area was covered before
sunset, except a few corners where there were not enough stalks
to go round. These were finished subsequently, without further
ceremony. Almost all the able-bodied people of the village were
present, both men and women, with the exception of the boys [882]
wearing the *upi*. They were not allowed to come to the garden on
that day, but were obliged to stay in or near the village.

The women wore no head covering. They are not allowed to 244
wear their pandanus leaf hoods on this occasion. If any one has
a *waris* relative present she must make a hood out of banana leaves. 291
I could get no explanation of this rule against the wearing of the 796
hood, usually very much in evidence on all ceremonial occasions,
frequently worn even when custom does not require it, to protect
the head when exposed to the heat of the sun, as these women were
all this day.

Every one left the garden as soon as the planting was finished. 244
It was not visited again for the next five days. After that work was
resumed upon it, the remaining patches were cleared and the odd 796
corners filled.

There was no *kōma* on the evening of the ceremony, and all next day every one stayed about the place doing nothing. They said they were tired after the hard work of planting. There was a *kōma* that evening, especially for the taro garden, but it did not go on all night.

I could get no information as to how long it would be before this 244
taro was ready for use. They seem to judge only by looking at it. 796

On August 23, 1930, I saw another performance of this ceremony,
on the occasion of the planting of a taro garden belonging 177●
to the village of Tabut. Although the general course of the proceedings
was similar, the whole thing was much less elaborate and 184
carried out with less dramatic effect. The principal performer chewed some roots with areca-nut and the leaves—but not the fruit, which is the usual accompaniment of areca-nut—of the betel-pepper, and touched the heaps of taro stalks with this mixture, which he spat into the palms of his hands (Pl. 39*b*). He did not call upon any *urar*. I inquired later as to this omission and was told that some people did so and some did not, but that if it had

244 been a very large and important taro garden he would have done so. The people of Tabut do not keep to the old customs as strictly as 796 the Kurtatchi people; they have been for a longer time subject to 184 the ministrations of a native mission teacher who is trying to make them stop all the ceremonies connected with the *urar*. It may be ● 177 that this was a contributory factor. The customary rules were also relaxed so far as to permit the boys wearing the *upi* to assist at the preparations, and the women wore their hoods, neither of which was allowed at the Kurtatchi ceremony.

Coco-nuts

247 Coco-nuts are cultivated by all the coast natives. They do not flourish in the mountain districts.

247 The following are the terms applied to the coco-nut at various stages in its development:

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Stage of growth.	*Kurtatchi dialect.*	*Petats dialect.*
Generic term used for the nut at all stages, and for the coco-nut palm	*üir*	*üel*
Very young nut	*kukūts*	*teõ*
Young nut before it contains liquid		*pĕsis* or *pĕli*
Nut containing liquid before 'meat' appears	*honpĕn*	*hakarut*
Nut with thin layer of meat at the creamy stage ('drinking coco-nut')	*maŋur*	*irabil*
Nut with meat a little firmer (also used for drinking)	*wisi*	*kuvo*
Nut containing a little liquid and thick meat (the liquid at this stage is bitter and is not considered palatable)	*wakamitshoma*	*rut*
Nut the meat of which has hardened ('dry' coco-nut)	*muhas* or *mahas*	*laŋ*
Mature nut the outer skin of which is not yet dry	*aroŋ*	*pitor*
Nut the kernel of which has become spongy	*awan*	*tunun*
Nut which has become dry and has fallen to the ground		*tus* or *alaum*
Nut which has sprouted		*hala*

247 The Government encourages the natives to plant coco-nut palms, requiring trees to be started for every child born. Apart 439 from the use of the nut as food and drink, the meat is dried in the sun or on platforms over a fire, to make copra, which is taken by the planters in exchange for trade goods, such as loin-cloths, knives, [illegible] &c., or for shillings, with which the head-tax of 10*s*. per year on every adult male must be paid. But now that the copra market has fallen upon evil days, it is becoming increasingly difficult for

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

226 anybody knows it. He^ learnt it at Pororan, from his *tua* (mother's
brother, or some one standing in the same relationship according
[604] to their system, see p. 60) Pulaget, now dead. He intends to show
it to his sister's son, a boy now about sixteen, when he is older, if
he wishes to learn it.

The same man gave me another form of procedure with the same purpose, i.e. to bring large shoals of bonito within reach, which runs as follows:

226 Get a stone, and carve it into the shape of a bonito. Give it an
532 eye, and a mouth, and a tail. Go down to the shore and bring up
824 some sea-water to your house, and wash the stone fish in this water,
inside the house. Then get some leaves of the *haharib* plant, and put them into a *kōbū* (areca-palm spathe), and put the stone fish on the top of the leaves. Fasten up the *kōbū* and put it in the men's side of the house. Be careful not to put the fish's eye looking out to sea, but put it so that the fish is looking towards the bush, then the bonito will come up towards the shore. Fix a time for taking out the stone fish, perhaps after five nights. When the time comes take the stone fish and rub *magor* on it, get some *iwi* (see p. 417) and rub it on the mouth of the fish. That will make the stone fish very angry, and there will be plenty of bonito. If you want the bonito to finish, take the stone fish out of the *kōbū* and put it away very carefully in your house. Bury the leaves in the sand. Then the bonito will go away.

226 Minka said he learnt this method from his brother, Kiowali, who
532 taught him when he felt that he was about to die. Kiowali possessed
two stone fish, one entire, the other with a broken tail. The latter he threw away, the other is in Minka's possession and was shown to me, in great secrecy, when no one was about. It is particularly important that the stone fish should not be seen by women, or it will lose its power. He said he could not give it to me, because he
● [177] had no other. I subsequently procured one from a man at Ruri,
who had used it, but on the advice of the native mission teacher had decided not to do so any more. It is made of a hard black stone, of a volcanic nature, apparently a species of diorite, very similar to other stones used in different kinds of magic. It has a string of trade beads in its mouth, and round its tail, to which is also attached a bunch of dried grass (Pl. 42 centre).

On the north coast of Bougainville wooden models of bonito are sometimes used instead of stone ones; these seem to be later

^[i.e., Minka.—Analyst]

226 be done just before setting out, fish will come to your canoe. If another canoe comes up to fish near you, it should be rubbed off, then the intruder will not be able to catch any fish. It is used especially in fishing for deep-sea fish, called *yaŋur*, *malaisa*, *taŋini*.

226 *Gotoin* (a small tree).

824 Rub the canoe with the leaves of this tree, and then a lot of fish will come to your nets.

Paho (a creeper).

Rub its leaves between your hands. Chew its root with betel-mixture. Rub both on the net. This is especially good for catching the large fish called *makō*.

Wadodowo (a large tree, which bears berries much liked by birds).

Chew a piece of a large root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on net, then fix a piece of the root on to the net.

226 2. *Troll line.*

A heavy line (*palaŋon*) is trolled, without a rod, behind a canoe, for catching large deep-sea fish, of several varieties.

226 *'Medicine' for catching fish with* palaŋon.

824 *Katſian* (tree resembling an areca-palm).

Take the root and some leaves, rub them together in your hands with lime, and rub on to the line. Chew root with betel-mixture, spit on your hands and rub over line. No use for bonito.

3. *Rod and line.*

226 Deep-sea fish are also caught from outrigger canoes by means
227 of a rod (*ara*) of bamboo often in two or more sections lashed
[283] together, tapering towards the distal end. A strong line is made by plaiting together four strands of rolled string. Hooks of thorn
[177 used to be attached to the line, but trade hooks (*unau*) are generally
239] substituted nowadays, when they can be obtained from planters' stores. Small fish, or bits of octopus or trepang, are used as bait. The rod and line is also used by men casting from the edge of the
[286] reef at low tide. (See Fig. 14.) A landing net (*totol*) is sometimes used with it, consisting of a net of heavy string almost circular in shape, supported on a frame of wood in one piece, a branch with
[415 a suitable fork being chosen. With this there goes a cleaned-out
824] coco-nut shell to hold the bait. (Pl. 43.)

501 islands dug-out canoes are rarely to be seen, and finds the general absence of outriggers characteristic of the group. Ivens (1927, p. 149) says that all the canoes of Mala and Ulawa are plank-built; he nowhere mentions the dug-out type.

501 The people of my area told me very emphatically, on more than one occasion, that there was a time when canoes were unknown
177 to them, and rafts were the only means of navigation. However
174 distant this time may be, it seems certain that the outrigger canoe is not indigenous to this region, but was introduced from elsewhere. Haddon, in an exhaustive survey of the different types of outrigger canoe found in Indonesia, concludes (1920, p. 131) that 'the present focus of outrigger canoes is in the Moluccas, and it is legitimate to suppose that from Indonesia, if not actually from the Moluccas, migrations took place at various times, each with its special type of canoe or with some partial modification'. But Friederici (1912, p. 297) thinks that the Buka people inherited this craft from former Polynesian inhabitants of the islands who were conquered and became extinct.

501 The local legend of origin runs as follows:

773

Origin of the Dug-out Canoe

539 At first all the people made rafts (*panots*); they were the first kind of canoes we people had. They all wanted to go and fish; they took their nets, they went to catch fish a long way off. Then one man, a man belonging to the Hahon people, watched them; he sat down on top of a mountain a long way off. He looked at all the people on the beach going fishing with rafts. He boasted, and said: 'Ah, what sort of canoe is this? When we sit down, the water comes up on to our skins all the time. I know how to make another kind of canoe that will hide our skins.'

Then he ran and got a stone axe, and cut down a *tfiniv* tree, and began to make a canoe. The next day he watched till all the men had gone away to fish with their rafts; he went back to the bush and cut the canoe again, he finished it, he carried it to the village, he put it to dry in the sun. He cut sticks for the *hihilil*[1] (outrigger booms), he cut the *soga* (outrigger float) and the *hi* and the *tapala* (portions of the attachment of the outrigger float) in one day, he let them dry for one day. Then all the people got up again and went to fish with their rafts. Then the man went and fetched *lau* (binding); he let it dry a little, then he fastened it; that took him one day.

Then he got some *mönö* (seaweed used to make white paint) and

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[1] This story was obtained at Tabut; the terms are therefore in a slightly different dialect from those given on p. 367 from Kurtatchi.

501 like this, then you cut the inside, then you get another stone and work it inside so that it is smooth.'

773 Then he went back to his home and fetched a spear and a bow and 539 arrows. Then he went alone to the bush. He was sorry about his trees. He said: 'Oh, why should they all know about my trees?' He took an arrow and shot it into the tree; that is why the *tʃiniv* tree has many holes in it, so that people have to stop them with putty nut. The man wanted them all to have hard work to stop them with putty. The arrow stuck in the tree, presently it fell down; since then all the *tʃiniv* trees have holes in them, and now the people have to put putty into them.

396 *Materials.* Several different varieties of tree may be used. The 824 one universally preferred, on account of the straightness and suitable size of its trunk, and the softness of its wood, making for ease in working, is that mentioned in the legend, called, in the Petats dialect, *uertsil*, and in that of Kurtatchi *tʃiniv*; in the latter case the same word is used for the finished canoe, which at Petats is called *dʒini*. The tree is tall and slender, with rather smooth bark, which strips off in large slabs. There is a milky sap under the bark when it is first stripped, and the same milky fluid exudes from the stems of the leaves when they are broken off. The wood is white and so soft that one man can fell a *tʃiniv* tree by himself, unless it is a very large one.

[413]

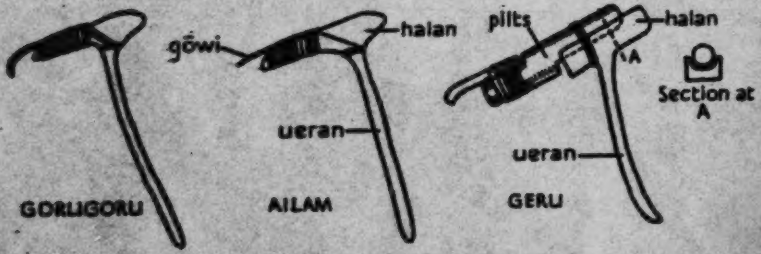

FIG. 16. Tools used in making a dug-out canoe.

413 *Tools used.* (The native terms are in the Petats dialect.) In the ● [199 olden days, stone implements were used. Fire has never been employed to hollow out the log. Nowadays the work is done with 439] metal tools obtained from traders, rehafted in the native fashion, probably much as the stone implements were hafted of old (Fig. 16). They use, besides the ordinary trade axe, which they call a tomahawk, a straight-bladed adze (*ailam*) and an adze with a curved

hands, the right hand nearer to the tool. The hands were held at 396 about the level of the waist. The sides were trimmed almost straight, not curving outwards with the contour of the tree. The thickness of the sides was tested by feeling with the hands one inside and one outside. A layer was taken off the whole length of the side of the canoe in about twenty minutes. Most of the day was spent on this trimming.

Up to now, the work had been carried on in the bush, just where the tree fell. This evening, however, the canoe-builder decided to bring it down to the beach. He dragged it single-handed for 482 part of the way, and then left it for the night.

November 5. The builder and another man carried the canoe to the beach and trimmed it, by turns, all the morning, improving its shape and smoothing its rims.

At this point he apparently became tired of the job; there were also several things going on in the village to distract his attention. Nothing more was done to the canoe until the evening of November 20, when he measured with a fish line the position for the holes 804 for holding the cross-pieces to which the outrigger-booms are lashed.

November 21. The holes were made with a modern brace and 17 bit, the canoe lying on its side. Three holes are needed on each 413 side. They must be exactly in the centre of the canoe, about 3 inches from the rim.

November 22. Three sticks (*sokau*) were pushed through the three pairs of holes. The *sokau* pass right through the hull, and project about 2 inches on either side of it. Two outrigger-booms (*kikilin*), about 9 feet long, were laid athwart the hull and lashed to the outer *sokau* on each side, projecting a little beyond the hull on the starboard side, the greater part of their length being on the port side. The space between the booms was filled with tightly packed transverse poles (also called *kikilin*) of the same length as the booms. The centre pole was lashed to the centre *sokau*, forming a platform, about a foot wide, braced by cross-bars (*pinix*) running parallel with and just above the rim of the canoe on each side. The number of poles varies from six to ten according to the size of the canoe. In answer to my question, the canoe-builder said that the proper length for the booms was *gil tia pa lim*, a span 804 and an arm (*alima*, shortened to *lim*, means either arm or hand). The length varies very little in the different-sized canoes (see

rims. It does not seem to occur to them that it would be more 501
comfortable to put a board across to sit on. The smaller canoes are so narrow that the feet must be placed one in front of the other in the bottom because there is no room for them side by side. If there is only one paddler he sits near the stern, if a second, he occupies the bow; any others will distribute themselves in between. The shape of the paddle can be seen from the photograph (Pl. 49). It is frequently ornamented with a design either incised or cut in [531]
very low relief, picked out with paint. If there is no design, the whole paddle is often painted white by rubbing with the seaweed *mō*. In use, the ornamented side is directed towards the paddler. One hand is placed over the top, the other grasping the handle near the blade, as in paddling a Canadian canoe. The stroke is rather short, and a good deal quicker than that used by Canadian Indians, probably because these canoes are used on the sea. The paddle is lifted right out of the water at each stroke. The steering differs slightly from that of a Canadian canoe, owing to the outrigger.

Cargo is piled up on the platform over the hull of the canoe, which is the driest place in the boat. Anything laid in the bottom is certain to get wet, as a good deal of water is shipped even in a smooth sea. Baling is done with half a coco-nut shell (why do they [415]
always seem to bring the half with the eyehole in it?), or, nowadays, often with an old tin can. I once saw a wooden baler being used near Soraken, but I did not come across any of these in the villages with which I was acquainted. In rough water a considerable amount of skill is required to avoid swamping. Even if filled with water or overturned, the canoe is prevented from sinking by the outrigger, and if hard put to it, the occupants will jump overboard and swim, pushing the canoe along with them.

Sails are sometimes seen, but they are not of native workman- [177] ●
ship, and their use and technique has been learned from white men. A favourite device when running before the wind is to hold up one of the large leaves of the coco-nut or the sago palm, which acts as a very efficient sail, if there is just the right amount of wind. I have never seen canoes sailed close to the wind.

The Plank Canoe.

The most elaborate of all the articles manufactured in this area 501
is the plank canoe, called, as in all other parts of Melanesia where 171
this form of craft is known, mon.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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501 this form of craft is known, *mon*. Like the dug-out, it appears not to be indigenous. The first place in this region to make such canoes seems, if the native accounts are to be trusted, to have been the Lontis coast, on the north-west of Buka, since the Petats people and the inhabitants of the villages on the coast of Bougainville all say that they learnt the art of making them from the men of Lontis.
501
184 In certain portions of this latter area the natives still remain ignorant of it. The people of Tiop, an island just round the north-east corner of Bougainville, told me that they had no *mon* and did not know how to make them, and I was given to understand that the people farther down the east coast had none either, though I had no opportunity of verifying this statement personally. Friederici (1912, p. 303) saw them at Teperoi, near Numanuma, still farther down the east coast. At the other corner of the north coast of Bougainville the people of the Saposa islands certainly do not make them, and they account for their ignorance by saying that Morena, who taught them all their crafts (see p. 39), did not teach them
[438] how to make *mon*, saying that when they wanted any they could buy them from Lontis or Hanahan, and must pay for them with spears and ceremonial currency. The people of Kurtatchi and the neighbouring villages were unanimous in saying that such boats
● [177] were not made by them until after the introduction of white men's tools, which are largely employed in their manufacture. The
[412] Petats people, however, say that their fathers used to make *mon* with stone tools, and to use a sharply pointed shell for boring the necessary holes by means of which the planks are fixed together.

501
177
174 Friederici (1912, p. 292) derives the Buka *mon*, on the evidence of similarity of technical construction, from the *orembai* of the Moluccas. He gives a comparative list of terms for the different portions of its complex structure which, he says, is sufficient to prove with absolute certainty that the *mon*, with its name, came from the east and north coasts of Buka by way of Nissan, Anir, and Tanga to South New Mecklenburg (the present New Ireland) (pp. 290 ff.).

396 *Material and tools*. C. M. Woodford, in his account of the canoes of the British Solomon Islands (1922, p. 508), pertinently remarks: 'It is difficult to understand how the natives were able, before they became acquainted with iron tools, to adze down the canoe planks to the requisite degree of thinness and shape them with the aid only of stone implements.' But he cites the evidence of the early

travellers, beginning with Mendaña, showing that they undoubtedly did so, and, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the Petats people were doing so not very long ago. It is interesting to note that the Kurtatchi people, who apparently learnt the method of manufacture after the introduction of white men's tools, said most emphatically that it would be impossible to make them without. Nowadays, the tools employed include axes, metal adzes, gimlets, augurs, sometimes a brace and bit, and occasionally a plane. In the absence of a brace and bit, pieces of wire or nails, which can be obtained from the Chinese stores, are heated and the requisite holes are burned with them. 396 [412 177] [439]

For the main planks of the *mon* a tree called *panots* (the same as that employed for rafts) is used. A large tree will provide five or six planks for a medium-sized *mon*. The tough outer skin of *Lygodium dichotomum* (*asam*) is used for binding them together, and the seams are caulked with *Parinarium laurinum* (*atʃitʃ*), the 'putty nut'. 396 824

Method of construction. The technique employed in the manufacture of *mon* in this area differs very considerably from that practised in the British Solomons as described by Ivens (1927, pp. 149 ff.) and Woodford (1922, pp. 508 ff.), as does also the appearance of the canoe when finished. I watched the procedure both at Petats and at Kurtatchi, but as I did not see the early stages at Petats, I take the description which follows from my Kurtatchi note-book, and shall use the Kurtatchi terms. The Petats terms are given by Friederici (1912, p. 290), who does not, however, give details of the construction. 396

The first business is to cut the planks. Those for the bottom of the *mon* are about 6 inches wide in the middle, and are tapered off to points at each end. They are planed with an adze (*turarar*) to a thickness of ¼ to ½ inch. The outside of each plank is charred by being held over a fire of chips (Pl. 50*a*). It is then rubbed smooth in the sand, and 'set' by being dipped in the sea. This is said to make the planks seaworthy, 'the same as tar', as one man said. (The men who have worked on plantations have seen white men tarring their boats.)

There is no sharp keel. The plank (*matits*) which forms the middle of the bottom of the *mon* is laid on the ground, and a plank (*pal*) is placed on either side of it. The adjacent edges of both, which have been bevelled slightly, are then pierced by a row of

342 plement, the worker then slides a thinner strip of cane through it, thus fixing the leaves down firmly (Pl. 56 *b*). This process is continued along the length of the supporting cane, some 6 or 8 feet.

A number of these lengths of thatch are prepared, men, women, and children all lending a hand. They are put on in layers, beginning at the top of the roof, each succeeding layer being tucked underneath the one above it. Ties of the outer rind of the stem of a plant called *nin* are used to fasten the thatch to the rafters, the ties being placed at intervals of about 2 feet. If the lengths of thatch are made to overlap closely, a very good watertight roof is the result, but the work is often hastened at the expense of efficiency by making them overlap only a little, forming a roof which is very liable to be blown out of place by wind.

342 [177] The two ends of the long, narrow hut are filled in by sheets of bark tied together and to the house-posts. Nowadays, when metal tools are available, planks are more frequently used for this purpose, provided the owner of the house can obtain nails. A space is left, usually not more than slightly over a foot in breadth and rather under 2 feet in height, to serve as a door (see Pl. 33). There is a door at each end of the hut. Planks are placed against these openings at night, secured by propping a log against them on the inside. A few people have now procured hinges or staples and have constructed doors which can be opened and shut, and are sometimes fitted with a bolt. Entrance and exit by these small apertures is a matter requiring considerable agility to the unaccustomed. To enter it is first necessary to climb upon a platform about 3 feet high, which is fixed in front of the end wall, and is made of areca-palm planks resting on three stout poles firmly fixed [517] in the ground. This verandah is much used as a place to sit, sleep, and eat.

342 562 Both ends of the house are exactly alike, but the front end with its verandah (together called *tagoan*), which faces the cleared space used for dances, is reserved for the men, women being allowed to occupy it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's end is the back (*babots*), and here most of their time is [882] spent while they are at home. The men may join them, but all the women's side of the line is strictly taboo to the boys wearing the *upi*.

342 565 The house belonging to the man of greatest importance in the village (*tsunaun tʃan*) has a porch between the end wall and the

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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342 565 verandah, which is covered by the roof but is open in front. This is called the 'eye' of the hut (*matan pi inu*). It serves as a gathering-place for the men for informal discussions of matters of importance, as well as for social chats. In it are kept the slit-gongs belonging to the *tsunaun*, one at least, and possibly two.

342 476 All the able-bodied men and boys in the village are expected to help in the building of a house, but most of the work will be done by the owner and his more intimate friends. The workmen are not paid, but can count upon similar assistance when they require it. The old men say that the younger ones are now no longer willing to help in this way, they only want to go off into the bush or to laze on the shore. Even in the case of the men's houses, much exhortation on the part of the *tsunaun* was necessary before the requisite amount of labour was forthcoming.

Dimensions of Huts in Kurtatchi Village

342

	ft.	in.
Total length of principal hut	46	2
Open front portion ('eye') of this hut (under roof and included in total length)	11	0
Length of ordinary hut varies, average about	30	0
Total width, the same for all huts	11–12	0
Height, from ridge-pole to ground	10	0
Height of side-walls (*oror*), approx.	2	0
Height of platform, front and back, approx.	2–3	0
Height of a typical doorway	1	9
Width of a typical doorway	1	4

342 184 *Variations*. In some of the hill villages, the front and back of the huts, instead of being closed with sheets of bark or with planks, are constructed of bamboo twisted and plaited into elaborate patterns, or laced together somewhat after the manner of a Venetian blind. Where this is found in the coast villages, as it sometimes is, e.g. at Saposa, it is done in imitation of the practice of the hill people, on the suggestion of the mission, as an improvement on the usual type of coast house. 342 ● 177 [797] On the islands of Petats, Pororan, and Hitau, the missionaries are encouraging the building of houses of an entirely different style, raised on piles, with high walls and a pitched roof (see Pl. 3 *b*). These are rapidly replacing the old-style huts, and the innovation is gradually spreading. On Petats hardly any of the old-style huts remain. There is no doubt that the raising of the house on piles, necessitating the construction of a plank floor in place of the bare ground, and the additional air and light obtained by

the heightened walls, with a space between them and the roof, render the new style of houses an improvement from the point of view of hygiene. It involves some readjustment of native habits, if only for the reason that fires cannot so readily be made inside the house, though this difficulty is being met by the provision of an earth hearth in one corner. 342 177 [354]

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH HUTS

(*Kurtatchi dialect*)

342 192

Term	*Explanation*
inu	hut.
a oror	the two side walls.
kurik	the uprights supporting the side walls.
kōbū	the planks of areca palm of which the side walls are made.
u bē	rattan, with which the *kōbū* are tied to the *kurik*.
toan	general term for all the carved posts which support the roof.
taras a toan	to carve the house-posts.
pepets	very hard wood, red when cut, of which the *toan* are made (? a species of mahogany). [824]
gus	the taller posts in the centre, which support the ridge-pole (three or more along centre line of hut).
wal	the posts on either side of these.
pa'i	ridge-pole and two side poles, resting on the *toan* and running the length of the hut, to support the rafters. These are made of the aerial roots of the banyan (*o ō*). If it is required to distinguish the ridge-pole from the side poles, the former is called *gus* and the latter *wal*, corresponding to the verticals on which they rest.
walwal or *tataras*	arched lathes forming rafters of roof, supporting thatch.
ariko	tree from which the *walwal* are cut. (*Cordyline ferrea.*) [824]
rijto	tree (with large yellow flowers) the inner bark of which is used to tie *walwal* to cross-slats.
papom or *kikimat*	slats running parallel to side of house at intervals on both sides, keeping the *walwal* in position.
toktok	poles laid across the structure to serve as scaffolding, afterwards removed.
matchyu	upper ridge-pole, laid on the top of the actual ridge-pole after the *walwal* have been put into position, resting on them where they cross each other.

285 them. The result is a basket with a very open mesh, with the holes in the shape of large polygons in even rows. It is called *aunat* in [184] the Petats dialect. I did not see anything of this kind at Kurtatchi.

Plaiting, done by both sexes.

285 415 A third kind of basket is made by both men and women, by the simple method of taking a length of the leaf of the coco-nut palm, cut to the size required, splitting its mid-rib to form the brim, and plaiting the fronds together for the sides (Pl. 62*a*). The bottom consists of the ends of the plaited fronds knotted together. These baskets are intended for temporary use only, and are thrown away when done with. The women use them chiefly for putting cooked taro ready in the rafters or other convenient place so that members of the family can help themselves when they are hungry. The men use them to carry their pipes, tobacco, and the ingredients for chewing the betel-mixture. For this purpose the men make them with a hole in the middle of each side, near the top, through which they thrust their hands and wrists, for convenience in carrying.

342 The fronds of coco-nut palm leaves are also plaited together to make a covering for the ridge-pole of the huts, to block an opening, or to make a partition or a screen from the wind. The fronds on the left side of one leaf and the right side of another are stripped off, the leaves laid side by side with the sides on which the fronds still remain turned towards each other. The mid-ribs, laid bare on the other side, then form the outer edges of the matting, which is made by intertwining the fronds of one leaf with the fronds of the other (Pl. 62*b*). If a very wide piece of plaiting is required, three leaves may be used, the fronds on both sides of the extra one being intertwined with those of the two others, which are placed one on each side of it, the edges of the finished article being formed of the mid-rib of the outer ones.

NOTE ON STONE IMPLEMENTS

412 324 171 The stone implements of the olden days have now been entirely superseded by trade knives, axes, and adzes, which can be obtained from the planters' stores, or are brought back by men returning from indentured labour at Rabaul or elsewhere. But the use of these latter has been general only for about two generations, and numerous specimens of stone implements are still lying about the villages, some being used to grind the blades of their modern

412 324 177 equivalents, others to crack nuts, or as weights, &c. The people know very well what they are, though I do not think any one now living has actually used them. They affect to despise their forefathers for using such awkward tools, but they admit that they themselves could not do with stone axes the work their forefathers did.

412 324 773 The only legend of origin in my collection referring to these stone implements comes from Saposa, where it is said that Morena gave them to the people when she taught the other crafts, teaching them at the same time to make more for themselves, and to make them also of the shells of the small clam and the giant clam.

412 324 The most typical shapes can be seen from the photograph (Pl. 63). The usual material is of a volcanic nature, such as is to be obtained in the centre of the island. They are called simply by the generic word for 'stone', *rako* in the Petats dialect and *wats* or *watʃ* in the Kurtatchi dialect; sometimes *wats pa ta kana*—'stone of times past'. I do not know of any special names applied to the different shapes, but as these differences have no longer any significance probably any such names as once existed are now forgotten.

At Petats I saw a few specimens of stone pestles (*akon*) similar to the larger of the two examples figured by Parkinson (1907, p. 498, Fig. 79). These are still used for cracking almonds, but the people say that they are too lazy to make them nowadays, but use any heavy stone instead.

I saw no hafted stone implements in Buka or North Bougainville, but in the Kunua mountain district of west-central Bougainville some are still to be seen, hafted with cane like those figured by Parkinson on p. 501 (Fig. 81). They are still valued by the people [583] of the interior and form part of the ceremonial payments made in respect of a wife. When not required they are kept carefully wrapped up in fibre tied round with native string and packed away in the rafters or other place of safe-keeping.

Pan-pipes (*ka'ur* or *wa'ur* and *piu*).

534 These are made in several sizes. The larger ones (*wa'ur*) have a mouthpiece made of 'putty-nut' which makes the aperture smaller (Pl. 65, 1). These usually consist of three reeds of different diameters. The smaller ones (*piu*) have no mouthpiece, but the edge of the cane may be bevelled (Pl. 65, 3 and 4). These are usually in fours, of the same diameter, but differing in length. Both kinds are always paired, one of a pair being open below, the other cut off just below a node, so that it is stopped. More elaborate ones, consisting of a number of canes of different lengths bound together in a bundle, are sometimes seen (Pl. 65, 2).

549 *Manufacture.* The pipes are made of bamboo. Just before a dance, men and boys go out into the bush and cut large quantities of suitable canes. The instruments are made by men and boys in the village, and there is no secrecy about it, in fact it is quite a social occasion, accompanied by much merriment. To cut Pan-
[534] pipes is *nayets o piu* (Pl. 64*b*). Fresh ones must be made for every dance, and thrown away afterwards, usually into the sea. But no objection was raised when I asked to be allowed to keep some of them. The nodes are poked out with a stick or a pig-spear. The first canes cut are carefully tried out till the required note is obtained, and the others are cut to these as measures. But some men estimate the length without measuring. One man told me he did not need to measure, because he could 'think in his belly'. I have heard men whistling the sequence of notes quite accurately.

533 *Method of use.* In playing, the instrument is held in both hands. The four notes are played in varying order, usually the highest one twice, then one of the intermediate ones twice, then the lowest one twice. The Pan-pipes are used in dances in conjunction with either the slit-gong or the *mabu*, the players standing in the centre
[562] of the men's wheel-like formation. Women do not play Pan-pipes even for fun.

534 There is also in use a notched-end flute made of a single reed,
177 with two or more stops, also called *piu* (Pl. 66*a*). This is merely
439 for amusement; it is never used in dances. I have seen girls playing it at Petats, but not at Kurtatchi. I incline to think it is not indigenous, but derived from the Chinese, who have traded in the district for some long time, and who sell them in their stores.

302 from the standpoint of the unaccustomed observer. Other designs seen at various times included smears of red or white round the eyes, a series of white lines across the forehead or obliquely across the cheeks, lines of red dots, &c.

[751 484] Some of this painting has more than a decorative purpose, e.g. a spot of red is put on each temple when starting on a journey, as a protection against the dangers of the road.

302 856 Children's heads are usually kept covered with a mixture of *oin* and coco-nut oil, even if there is no ceremony going on. This is said to make the hair grow and to keep off lice. Some children have their hair rolled into little blobs with a mixture of *oin* and clay.

302 184 856 At Baniu, a village about ten miles east of Kurtatchi, and a few villages farther east of it, but not—at least not now—as far as Tiop on the extreme north-eastern corner, a custom obtains of cutting very short the hair on the front half of the children's heads, and letting the back half grow long. This is done for both sexes. The front half is cut, at a feast, when the child is very small, perhaps two or three years old; the back half remains long for some years more, and is finally cut at a special feast, where the child is given pig to eat for the first time. The reason given to me for this method of hair-dressing is that it makes the child grow strong and healthy. My friends of Kurtatchi said it had never been done in their neighbourhood, although the two districts are in intimate and friendly connexion.

302 593 The father of a boy wearing the *upi* will often let his hair grow long and wear it tied into a bunch at the top of his head (see Pl. 52). This is done because the boy may not cut his own hair; it also shows pride in him. His mother may refrain from cutting her hair short at the temples for the same reason, but does not wear it on the top of her head.

302 589 765 A widow may not cut her hair, but makes it into blobs with clay, without paint, which is forbidden her until a certain stage of the mourning is ended.

302 [412 177] Hair is cut with a sharp-edged shell, usually a species of *Cyrena*, or, nowadays, with a bit of glass, except in the case of those few returned labourers who possess razors or scissors. These lucky ones will often be requested to use their acquisitions on the heads of their friends. Cutting is done in the village, usually on the women's verandah. No special attention is given to the disposal of the ends, which are either thrown away among the other rubbish

301 wings are torn off and fixed one on each side of the head (Pl. 66*b*). [824] Dabs of a phosphorescent fungus are put on the face for special occasions, and may also decorate the ends of *mabu* or *piu*.

Necklaces of aromatic plants are often worn. These may have [789] more than an ornamental value, since many of them are regarded as 'medicine' useful in love magic or to ward off the *urar*. More permanent necklaces are made of opossum teeth, threaded on fibre through small holes made in one end of the tooth. I have seen these [412-177] holes being pierced with a primitive rotary drill, but was told that this had been learned from elsewhere by people working as plantation labourers, and that no means of piercing the teeth were known before they became acquainted with this drill. At the present time many possess necklaces of trade beads, either with or without opossum-teeth interpolated. Only very small coloured beads are liked. Some necklaces of larger beads which I brought with me as presents, because they had been very successful among the American Indians, were of little use because they were considered too heavy. Strings of small beads are also worn round the wrist, and put round the waists of infants. I do not remember seeing any native form of finger-ring.

Arm-bands (*pog*) made of plaited fibre in patterns of red, black, and yellow are almost universally worn. They are not made locally, but are obtained from the hill people (see Pl. 67, no. 5). Less elaborate arm-bands are made by plaiting grass (no. 4) or strips [887] of sago-palm leaves (*pog a tō*) (no. 3); the old men spend their leisure time making these. They are of different widths up to over an inch. Arm-bands serve as receptacles for any small articles they may wish to carry about with them, such as a pipe or a stick of tobacco. Here and there, especially at ceremonies, one may see a native wearing bands of trochus shell such as are common in other parts of Melanesia, but they are exceptional and are not made in this area (Pl. 67, no. 8).

The most highly prized ornament is the *pirir*, a disk of clam-shell with a fine piece of tortoise-shell filigree work superposed upon it (Pl. 68). These are worn as pendants, on ceremonial occasions only. In the olden days they were also worn by warriors setting out to a fight. A few are still made, a knife being used instead of the piece of sharp-edged shell formerly employed for the carving; but the present workmanship is careless and the patterns comparatively uninteresting. To save the trouble of rubbing down the hard hinge

301 of the clam-shell for the disk, the present-day native prefers to use
the middle of a china saucer ground smooth at the edges. These
[797] ornaments seem to have come under the special displeasure of the
missionaries, probably owing to their connexion with ceremonies
and fighting, and it is almost certain that their manufacture will
shortly cease altogether. Several specimens in my collection were
obtained because the owners had discarded them as belonging to
the olden times.

[436] Strings of ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroan*,
Pl. 67, *2a*, *2b*) are worn as ornaments at dances, being wound round
the neck or waist or hung over the shoulder. Anything worn across
the shoulders is referred to as *sawiro*, if put round the waist the
word is *wōs*.

[789] Girdles of aromatic leaves are much liked, and may have a
magical value as well as being ornamental. As a result of contact
[177] with white men, belts are coming into great favour, though they
are quite unnecessary for keeping the loin-cloth in position. Some
of the young men have trade belts, those who have none use strips
of dried banana fibre. Occasionally a belt will be seen of coloured
plaited grass in a pattern similar to those on the arm-bands; these
[438] are made, like the arm-bands, by the mountain natives; they are
obtained by barter and are much prized. They are also sometimes
made of thin strips of cane closely bound with native string. The
outside is plastered with red paint put on very thickly, and looks
not unlike leather.

301 The women of West Buka and the adjacent islets make belts of
184 twisted fibre, round in section, ornamented with interwoven black
bands made of the shiny outer bark of the bush banana. They are
finished off with a long bunch of loose threads of fibre, which
hangs down behind like a tail when the belts are worn. Their use
is confined to dances, and the women take pleasure in moving their
bodies so that the tails wave about. Only women and children
wear these belts. My friends at Petats made one specially for me,
and were much pleased when I subsequently appeared in it to join
in their dances. The women of Kurtatchi do not make them, and
appeared to be unfamiliar with them; they were greatly interested
when I showed them mine, and insisted on my putting it on and
showing how the Petats women danced with it. But they made no
attempt to copy it.

The belts made by women during the period of mourning for a

The 'unofficial' marking consists of cuts made with a shell or a 304 piece of glass, some more or less random as to their direction, some in sets of three, when they are supposed to represent the trail of the hermit crab (*sisir a kobar*). They are made on the arms or chest (see Pl. 11). Or a weal in the shape of a hollow circle may be made on the chest by pressing the hot bowl of a pipe against the skin; this is called *wawa'ets*. A small, solid, round weal, frequently seen in rows down the back of the arm, is made by pressing the cut end [824] of the stem of a leaf of the tree called *lasebĕ* on the skin. A white milky sap is exuded which after a day or two causes an eruption not unlike that consequent upon vaccination which leaves a permanent weal, but it does not 'take' on some people. To mark themselves in this way is a favourite amusement with young girls. Scars are also made by pressing the stalk of a coco-nut, which has been heated in the fire, on to the surface of the skin. There is no ceremonial attached to these forms of marking.

The formal cicatrization is a much more elaborate affair. A man is usually scarred on chest and shoulders and the upper portion of the back, a woman all over her chest and abdomen, and frequently also on the thigh, not quite to the knee. Some people have the face scarred; in this case the body is not done (Pl. 69*a*). Certain patterns [554] are signs of rank, others may be used by any one. The amount of cutting done depends entirely on the wish of the parents. It is not hereditary, but a father will often have his son cut with the same pattern as he has himself. Not every native is thus marked. Some account for their untouched skins by saying that they ran away at the time the ceremony was to be held, in which case it is not, as [177] ● a rule, forced upon them later. It is gradually falling into disuse, being severely discouraged by the missionaries.

I did not see the operation performed. Nawi, the girl whose 304 first menstruation ceremony is described in Chapter VIII, was 852 ready for marking, but she was to go to the village of Baniu, where she had relatives, for the ceremony, as soon as there was enough taro for the necessary food-distribution accompanying it. The [881] ceremony could not be performed at Kurtatchi because the *watawatʃ* had not been performed for the boys; pending this the cutting ceremony was taboo. If it were done, the girl would die, and her relatives would be very angry and 'make poison' to kill the people who had committed this breach of rule. The mere possibility was referred to with horror, and appeared to amount to

Designs of shafts of spears and arrows.

The designs of arrow shafts are similar to those found in the other islands of the Solomon group, which have been discussed by H. Balfour (1893, p. 102). 411 531

Spears covered with an elaborately woven layer of grass coloured red and yellow in various patterns are carried on ceremonial occasions, but they are not made locally, being obtained from Kunua [438] and other mountain people by barter. The patterns are similar to those on the woven arm-bands.

DRAWINGS

With the exception of a few young men who had experimented with paper and pencil during their time as plantation labourers, the nearest approach to drawing practised by these natives is to make marks in the sand or mud with a stick. I have seen a man demonstrate in this way the proper lay-out of a coco-nut plantation. Children sometimes use their toes. 532

I provided drawing-paper and coloured pencils, which most people had to be taught how to hold. After a certain amount of shyness, the idea caught on, especially among the young men, and there was a run on my drawing materials until they gave out. Some of their efforts are reproduced in Figs. 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, and 29. Sometimes the attempt resulted in unintelligible scribblings, which, although the work of adults, generally women, resemble a baby's first efforts to handle a pencil. 532 177 ●

They appeared to have no difficulty in comprehending pictures, including those involving the recognition of objects in perspective. One man even introduced perspective into his own drawing, explaining that the woman in his picture was smaller because she was behind the others. Every one was much interested in some pictures I had with me, particularly photographs of primitive people in other parts of the world. They could interpret a photographic negative, even to the extent of recognizing themselves and their friends in it. They understood without explanation the plan I made of the village, and could tell me from it who lived in each house. 151

FIGURE CARVING

Reference has already been made to the representations of the human form made for marriage and puberty ceremonies. These 532

p. 390), that in use on Buka and Bougainville is, according to 436
all my informants, obtained from New Britain and New Ireland, 171
and especially from Manus in the Admiralty Islands. They
made no mention of any from elsewhere, except that I was
told that there was one man living on a small island off the west
coast of Buka who knew how to make it. I was not able to verify
this. It is called *beroan*, the same term being employed in all
dialects with which I have any acquaintance. Three varieties are
seen. The most common are either white or purplish (see Pl. 67,
2*a*, 2*b*). A third consists of rather larger disks of a brownish colour,
and is distinguished from the other two by name, *kulin*, in the
Petats dialect. The disks are strung on native fibre string, small
black rings of some vegetable substance being sometimes incorporated
in the string at irregular intervals. So far as I could
ascertain, this is done merely for the sake of its appearance, and
not to mark lengths or values. The unit of length is the fathom
(about 6 feet). A single string is considered to be the equivalent of [435]
5*s*. The Bougainville natives say that they did not fix this value [177]
themselves, but took it over from the people of New Britain and
Manus with the strings themselves. I found it quite impossible to
elicit any information as to how long the use of this shell currency
had been known in Bougainville, or how it first came to be associated
with a value in terms of shillings.

Beroan is not used in the ordinary exchanges which have been 436
described in the foregoing pages, but is given in payment for 301
certain things only. It is also used for personal ornament, being
worn round the waist or slung across the shoulders of adults or
children for ceremonial dances and on other special occasions.
Larger shells with dogs' teeth inside are sometimes attached to [534]
short strings of *beroan* which are then used as rattles, either to
amuse infants or as an accompaniment to a dance.

Some uses of *beroan* (other than for personal adornment) which 436
came under my notice are listed below:

1. Several fathoms change hands in the course of the transactions connected with marriage. [583]
2. As compensation for theft, in return for release of culprits. [685]
3. As part payment for pigs.
4. As payment for carving *kaisa* figure.
5. As payment for being taught certain kinds of magic.
6. Thrown into coffin of *waris* as sign of grief. [764]

water; cooking pots, bought from Malasang; and such baskets as 422
they choose to make. Each woman also owns a hood for observing [412]
the rules of avoidance. Both sexes cherish their woven armlets, necklaces, and other ornaments, their pipes, and their decorated lime-pots, though these are now giving place to tins obtained from the white man. Most people now possess trade knives for cutting bush, weeding, &c., and some few also axes and adzes. This makes no claim to be an exhaustive list of personal possessions, but it does, 422
I think, include the bulk of them. Although these people take 556
pleasure in ownership, and are as delighted as children at the acquisition of, say, a specially large or good knife (I have seen a man doing a dance of joy at one which I had given him) or a string of beads, they do not seem to strive particularly to amass quantities of possessions, beyond what they need for their own use. 'Riches' consist of ceremonial currency and pigs, everything else is incidental. Ornamented spears used to rank in this category, and still do in the central mountain districts, there forming part of the transactions connected with marriage, as do also stone axes, which are no longer valued in the coastal districts.

Records of possessions.

To keep a record of the number of coco-nut trees owned by the 211
inhabitants of the village, bundles of the stiff centre rib of the
coco-nut leaf frond are kept, containing one rib for each tree. A 656
tally of pigs is kept by making notches on a stick. All the pigs belonging to the village are recorded—or are supposed to be recorded—on one stick, but this does not mean that they are communally owned. These records are required by the Government and the bundles and sticks are given to the District Officer at his official visit. I do not think any record would be kept except for this requirement, and its accuracy is open to considerable doubt.

ATTITUDE TO THEFT

To steal ceremonial currency made of teeth (*imun*) is a major 177
offence, one of the two such offences recognized by these people, 684
the other being to take another man's wife, for which the same
word (*a mot*) is used. The customary punishment is that the con- 685
victed person shall be taken to the beach and all who wish shall have the right to shoot at him with spears and arrows. He is,

● 177 however, permitted to shoot in return, and as far as I could make
684 out, the affair was generally hardly more than a form. This proce-
685 dure is now, however, no longer permitted, matters of this kind being dealt with by the District Officer.

685 The theft of other property, even of pigs, is regarded as a minor offence, over which the injured parties are very angry and talk a great deal, but eventually agree to the settlement of the affair by the payment of a fine. I have a story of a man called Tianowan, living at Ruri, who stole a pig belonging to Mudidemets, which he killed and ate. He was made to pay back a pig to Mudidemets, which was killed and eaten by the two men together, 'then Mudidemets was not angry with Tianowan any more'. Another story tells how a group of boys were always stealing bananas belonging to a man who lived at a neighbouring village. One day he caught them, and brought them to his place, and held them prisoners. The *tsunaun* of their own village brought a length of *beroan* to pay the owner of the bananas to let them go; he said that was not enough, so the
674 *tsunaun* paid him two lengths, and he let the boys go. I did not personally experience any cases of theft, although I neglected the advice of the planters to keep all my goods locked up. A boy about thirteen, living at Kurtatchi with his mother, but actually belonging to another village, had the reputation of being a thief (*ti a mot*). Every one knew this, and discussed it with disapprobation, and several people warned me not to allow him to come on to my verandah. But I never heard of his being punished for any definite theft, and I am uncertain how far the charges against him were true, and how far they were made because he did not really belong to the village, in which he was unpopular.

INTENTIONAL DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

425 As noted elsewhere in greater detail, a man's pigs and coco-nut
768 palms, and a woman's taro, are used, on the death of the owner, to provide food for the people who come to wail. But it is not only the produce that is taken, the coco-nut palms are cut down—or were, until the practice was forbidden by the Government as wasteful—and the garden laid waste. If articles such as ornaments are put into the grave they are sometimes, but not always, broken. (See account of burying of pillow on p. 492.)

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425 There are also other occasions on which property is intentionally

destroyed. The usual way of showing anger is to break up one's 152
own personal possessions.[1] One day I heard a great commotion 425
inside a hut, and on inquiring the reason, was told that two women had been fighting because one had eaten some pawpaw belonging to the other, who was very angry, and had, besides fighting the culprit, broken all her *own* pots; it was her howling that called my attention to the incident. It might be thought that the breakage was done accidentally in a fit of blind temper, but other instances indicate that it was far more likely to have been intentional. In my collection of stories there is one in which a man who, rebuffed in his efforts to have illicit sexual intercourse with a woman, ran away and hid when summoned to the shore for the punishment by shooting. The double injury, his undesired attentions and his cowardly attempt to escape from the consequences, angered the woman so much that she destroyed her own taro garden.

Other people's property may also be broken, with the owner's 425
consent, for the same reason. A curious example occurred during 579
my residence. The mission teacher at Tabut, a village friendly to [797
and closely associated with Kurtatchi, had, with more zeal than 177]
discretion, been trying to stamp out the custom of wearing hoods in accordance with the rule that a woman must avoid her *waris*, He had even gone so far as to damage one of the hoods. This was reported at Kurtatchi, a more conservative village, and so incensed the women there that they made a descent on Tabut *en bloc* for the purpose of showing their displeasure. I was invited to go with them. We approached the village slowly, in a procession, with some show of ceremony. Every woman wore her hood, some even had two, one on the top of the other. The Tabut women received us amicably, and so far from resisting the destruction of their property, actually brought out their water coco-nuts to be broken up, though I fancy this was co-operation in self-defence, as they were careful to bring out old ones, whereas if left to themselves, the Kurtatchi women exercised no such discrimination. Pots were also brought out, and laid on the verandahs, but honour was apparently satisfied with this gesture, for no pots were actually broken on this occasion. When they considered that enough damage had been done, the Kurtatchi women went home, and no retaliation followed.

On another occasion the same thing took place at Kurtatchi.

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[1] This is paralleled in other parts of Melanesia, cf. Ivens, 1927, p. 12.

ments of food, and other personal rubbish are left freely lying about. 754

Another incident, which I mention because it illustrates the pervading consciousness of fear with which many, if not most, natives are all too familiar, occurred when I accompanied Pinari and some other villagers on a journey to the foot-hills. Shortly after we had turned inland from the coast road, we met two men belonging to a mountain village. In response to the usual question as to where they were going, they said they were 'just walking'. Pinari's suspicions were instantly aroused. He showed great uneasiness until they were out of sight, and then set to work to examine their footprints. Finding the grass bent in the opposite direction from that in which they had disappeared, he considered his suspicions confirmed—they were lying in wait to 'make poison' for the people of the village of Ruri, not far from which we were. He said that if they had been looking for opossum they would have stayed in the thicker bush, and if they had been going to Ruri on lawful business they would have said so. He kept on making remarks of this nature for hours afterwards and was clearly much disturbed in his mind about the affair, even though his own people were not immediately concerned in it.

A person who makes poison is called *gonagol*. It would appear 754
that any evilly disposed person, either man or woman, can do this
if he knows the proper methods. I did not hear of any class of 683
persons comparable to the 'witches' described by Hocart (1925, 177
p. 229) on Eddystone, another island of the Solomon group, whose powers are inherited. In the olden days, a man caught or suspected of making poison was punished with death. Now that the power of inflicting the death penalty has been taken away from them, the natives will either 'make poison'—legitimately, in their view under the circumstances—to cause his death in revenge, or, they may report the case to the District Officer, demanding the death of the 'poisoner' who, in their eyes, has committed murder. The sentence inflicted will probably be one of imprisonment for causing trouble, which is considered not only inexplicably lenient, but also very unsatisfactory, since, as they say, 'he comes back again and makes more poison'. I have known men to work themselves up into a perfect frenzy when discussing this matter. It seems to me that cases involving black magic present a very difficult administrative problem in this area, as doubtless in others.

ences. Since there seem to be certain local differences, apart from the modifications introduced as a result of white contact, the information collected from Petats and villages on the island of Buka will be presented separately from that obtained from Bougainville.

INFORMATION CONCERNING DEATH OBTAINED AT PETATS, W. BUKA

Funerary Rites

Before the coming of the white man, the dead were thrown into 764
the sea. Stones were fixed on to the body to make it sink; it was
then taken a long way out to sea in a canoe and thrown in. This 177
practice ceased before the coming of the mission; it was said to have
been given up because the planters objected to it on the ground
that the bodies floated ashore. Bodies were then buried. Before
burial they were kept in the house for two nights during which
ritual wailing (*tĕp*) went on. The missionaries have taught them
to bury as soon as possible for sanitary reasons. Mr. Cropp, of
the Methodist Mission, told me that they will, if left to themselves,
bury much closer to their habitations than is at all desirable. A
boy once died at the Mission during his absence, and he found that
they had buried the body within 50 yards of the cookhouse. It is
possible that this practice originated in a desire to protect the grave 764
from those who might attempt to carry out the custom called
babanam, to insult a corpse by trying to dig it up. This must be 578
done within a week of burial. Mr. Cropp told me that about two
years earlier (i.e. about 1927) a man of importance had died at
Novar, a village on the southern end of the island of Buka. A
watch was set over his grave, and after two or three days a man,
dressed in leaves, came from the bush uttering weird cries, and
began scratching at the grave. The watchers tried to catch him,
but his body was greased all over with pigs' fat, and he got away.
The children play at *babanam*; they cover one of their number with [857]
grass and leaves and two watch hidden somewhere near by, while
another comes stealthily up and uncovers the body.

During my three months' residence at Petats only one death 764
occurred, that of a middle-aged man who had been ill for some time. 177
He had not been an adherent of the Mission, so Mr. Cropp, whose
policy it is not to introduce changes till the natives themselves
desire them, remained away from the island while the funeral was

764 in progress. All that took place, therefore, was done on the initiative of the natives themselves, influenced by what they had learned
177 from the mission. It is perhaps worth while to include an account of this funeral, as it represents a transition period in the conflict between the old ways and the new.

A Funeral at Petats

764 Tsirisia died in the night of November 7, 1929. His death was not unexpected, and on one occasion as long ago as October 4, when he had lost consciousness, ritual wailing had actually been started for him. His son and a clansman were with him when he died. Wailing began immediately, and lasted for about an hour, then ceased, to begin again at dawn. It is a most mournful and eerie sound, which those who have once heard it will never forget.

Next morning his son and two neighbours began at once to make the coffin. They utilized an old canoe, by cutting off the two ends, and cutting the middle in half lengthwise. The two halves they nailed to cross-pieces, to give the coffin the necessary width at its upper end, and put in a piece of wood neatly shaped to fit. They said the canoe was used because it was handy, to save labour.[1] After washing it in the sea they lined it with crushed leaves and left it to dry.

Meanwhile the women were wailing inside Tsirisia's house. The widow was sitting at the foot of the body, which had been laid on a sleeping-mat on one of the sitting-platforms inside the house. It was then shaved and washed. The wailing ceased during the process of shaving, but towards the end of it the widow started again and continued alone for a time. During the washing the others joined in again. The body was carefully dried, a black loin-cloth was put round it and fixed with a piece of red cloth, another loin-cloth was laid over it, and a white one on the top. The coffin was brought and placed beside the body, which was lifted into it amid increased wailing. Men and women crowded round and looked in, resting their arms on the edge and all wailing. Tears were dropping freely
[152] from their eyes and mucus from their noses. A crowd of children stood just outside, some crying from sheer fright. The widow looked up and waved them away.

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[1] It is possible that this explanation may have been a—perhaps unconscious—rationalization, and that the use of the canoe may bear some reference to the former custom of burying at sea. I did not meet with any other instance of it.

INFORMATION OBTAINED AT THE VILLAGE OF KURTATCHI, N. BOUGAINVILLE

764 797 As previously explained, this village is under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Mission, and has a resident mission teacher, a native of another village. He took up residence only a few weeks before my arrival, but teaching had been going on for some time and I found that the funeral arrangements, except for the customary wailing, were conducted entirely according to the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church. The only exception was that Maravin, an old man who had been hostile to the mission, was buried with no ceremony whatever. The native mission teacher would not conduct a Christian service over him because he had not been baptized, and the natives were afraid to perform their own rites for fear of incurring the displeasure of the priest. But the village went in terror of his *urar* for many a day, in consequence of the omission.

764 177 I did not, therefore, witness the ritual about to be described, but the change was recent enough for a clear memory of what formerly took place to remain in the minds of my informants. Although they appeared to welcome the new teaching, being of the opinion that the practices of the white man were, *ipso facto*, superior to their own, it seemed to me that the change had been one in outward form only, and that they retained their own beliefs concerning death and the future life side by side with as much as they understood of the ideas implanted by the mission teacher, in happy unconsciousness of any incongruity.

764 The following description of the old funerary rites was given me by Matarĕ, my most intelligent and reliable informant. Other men were standing by listening as he talked, and occasionally chimed in to corroborate or to suggest some detail which he had omitted. Accounts received on other occasions tallied with this in all essentials, and it may, I think, be accepted as a reasonably accurate description of ceremonies that will never be performed again.

Funerary rites

565 When a person of *tsunaun* lineage dies all the people wail. They make a stretcher (*pŏpŏa*) to carry him on. In the olden days they took the man on the stretcher far out to sea in a canoe and, having tied his feet together with creepers, they fixed stones to the body, threw

it in, and threw the stretcher in after him. Sometimes the stretcher 764
was brought back and kept till it rotted. When the white men came and the natives saw that they buried their dead, they began to do [177]
so too. Matarē (a man aged probably somewhere round thirty) said the dead were still thrown into the sea when he was fully grown. If a man died without relatives they just put a rope round him, but otherwise his relatives made the stretcher and carried him carefully.

As soon as a person dies a fire is made inside the house in which he died, lime is sprinkled all round it, and the people present 'pretend to fight' the lime (i.e. flip their fingers at it, as shown by [201]
gestures). They all put lime on their ears. This is done for commoners as well as for *tsunaun*.

The body of a *tsunaun* is put up under the roof of the house; [565]
a rough platform consisting of two planks is made, and the body laid on it. All the people wail. No one is allowed to touch it or to look at it. It remains there five or six days and nights.[1] Pig and taro are provided for the people from other villages who come to wail (the ritual wailing, *wa'ūr*). They do not all wail all the time, some keep it up while others go off and eat. The near relatives do not touch this food. The pigs provided belong to the dead man and to his relatives. Other people may help provide pigs if they wish, even if they are not immediately concerned. (Matarē said he helped his wife's father, Pinari, when Pinari's brother died, though he was under no obligation to do so.)

The women and girls go to the bush at dead of night (a most unusual proceeding) and fetch coco-nuts and areca-nut and betel-pepper. They take with them axes and knives, but they must not take fire or torches (again a direct departure from ordinary procedure). The men stay in the village. The women come back while it is still dark and put the things they have brought on the verandahs of the dead man's house, some at the front and some at the back.

The women do a special dance which is not used on any other 764
occasion. (This was demonstrated, it was a sort of hop with both 535
feet together, and both hands behind the back.) The conch-shells

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[1] No specific means taken to preserve the body were mentioned, but up on its platform it would be exposed to the smoke of any fire burning in the hut. It was not stated whether the fire previously mentioned was kept burning all the time or not.

764 535 [533] are sounded and the alit-gong beaten to give the time to the dancers The rhythm goes like this:

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The dance is kept up till dawn breaks.[1]

764 [415 824] During the time when the body is up on the platform, a *kun* (kind of tray made of *tolas*, a very hard wood, used for cracking almonds upon) is set up in the village, and people shoot at it with bows and arrows, and throw spears, which break on it because the wood is so hard.

Coco-nuts, drinking and dry, and taro and sugar-cane from the gardens belonging to the dead man and his relatives, and other people, too, if they wish, are heaped up at the front verandah of his house. Taro with the stalks still attached is hung up in front of the house, under the eaves. A tall tree is set up in the middle of the heap of coco-nuts, and strings of ceremonial currency (*imun* and *beroan*) belonging to the dead man and his relatives are hung up on it. Some strings are also fastened on his wrists and ankles. These latter can be taken by any one who wishes, if he puts other strings in their places. Those substituted need not be so valuable as those removed. The strings on the tree are afterwards brought back into the house and remain there.

As long as the body remains in the house the widow can eat only one taro a day. She may not chew the ordinary betel-mixture, but can chew two kinds of wild areca-nut, *kiŋ* and *kawiwi*. All those who touched the man after he was dead may not eat anything,[2] but they may chew the betel-mixture. If this prohibition is not kept the body will stink quickly.

When the time comes for burial the body is carried out by the male relatives. They walk round the heaps of coco-nuts and taro, then they bury him in the graveyard. Axes, knives, spears, and paint are put into the grave with him. In the olden days these were

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[177] [1] This dance was performed on the last occasion of the death of a person of *tsunaun* lineage, but as the dead are now buried by the mission teacher, Matarē said it would never be performed again. Both he and his audience were very dramatic in their description of the dance, and seemed to regret it more than any other part of the funerary ritual.

[2] Questioning made it clear that this prohibition was intended to apply to the whole of the time (five or six days) that the body remained in the house, but it would not be literally adhered to; a little taro would be eaten unofficially ('stolen' is the exact translation of the word used) just as in the case of the girl secluded during her first menstruation (see p. 253).

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

If a boy wearing the *upi* enters a hut in which a woman lives. Present 266 punishment, some one will 'make poison' so that he will die, and 639 no one will know who did it.

If a woman sees the *amro* carrying food to the novices during their 266 seclusion in the bush prior to the first puberty ceremony (see p. 201). 638 Present punishment, all the *amro* and all the *kwigin* have sexual intercourse with her.

Cannibalism is now prohibited under the jurisdiction of the 266 white man, and no longer takes place, even in secret, I believe, 177 among the coastal people. How long it is since the last person was eaten it was impossible to ascertain; most of the older men in the village of Kurtatchi confessed—or perhaps I should say boasted—that they had eaten man, with what truth I cannot say. None of the younger or middle-aged men claimed to have done so. I was told that the practice is still carried on by the people of the mountainous interior of Bougainville, and as these have not yet, in some areas, come under white supervision, it may well be that this is the case.

THE PLACE OF THE *URAR*

This account of the after-world was obtained from Sobak, an 775 elderly man. The details have all been subsequently corroborated in accounts given by other individuals, or in the course of discussions arising out of certain myths and stories.

The place where people go when they die is ruled over by two brothers, named Tosisiup and Magor. Tosisiup is big, Magor is little. The home of both is the volcano called Tupa'i.[1] Tosisiup lives at the top. When he likes he makes fire come out of it. Magor [823] lives under it. When he turns himself there is an earthquake. Tosisiup tells him to stop making the ground shake, because he is sorry for all the people who fall down.

All the people who die go to the volcano. When a man is going to die, fire comes up out of it. Magor prepares food for him and puts fire in the food. He cooks taro to give to the man who dies. The man goes and sits down in front of Tosisiup. Magor asks him: 'What are you doing?' 'I am dead. Somebody has made poison for me.' Tosisiup says: 'Don't you know who it was? I

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[1] This is the active volcano in the northern half of Bougainville, which appears [133] on the map as Balbi. It is not the same as the volcano which figures in the beliefs of the Buin of South Bougainville, called Bareka or Bagano (cf. Wheeler, 1914, p. 103, &c.).

funeral of a commoner. In essentials the two are identical. Con- 764
sistently with this, I have no evidence that there is considered to 565
be any difference in the treatment of the two classes in the after- 775
world. Magor and Tosisiup are looked upon as the rulers of the land of the dead, but they are not connected in any way with the *tsunaun* of actual life, and among the *urar* under their jurisdiction there appears to be no distinction of persons.

Again, no stress seems to be laid on a distinction between the 761
good and the bad, as regards either the character of their lives or
the form of their deaths. I found nothing resembling the 'good' 177
and 'bad' deaths which are reported from other areas. (Cf. Moss, 1925, p. 123, &c.) The only evidence of anything in the nature of an 'ethical' distinction is the remark attributed to Tosisiup that he would 'put in the fire' the men who made poison causing another man to die. The possibility of mission influence cannot be entirely excluded here, for though my informant was one of the older men, he was accustomed to attend the mission teacher's services, and the doctrine of punishment by fire seemed to make a special appeal to the natives, including the teacher concerned.[1]

The first part of the funerary rites seems to be directed towards 764
keeping in touch with the spirit, the second part, from the time of the removal of the belts onwards, towards getting rid of it. The retention of the body as long as possible, the wearing of the belts, which must not have the dirt washed off them, the bringing home of the cordyline plant on which the spirit is supposed to be sitting, all point in the one direction. The removal and destruction of the belts, the lifting of all the taboos, and the fact that the widow is then free to marry again, all point in the other. There would appear to be some connexion between this difference in behaviour and the belief that the dead man takes some time to undergo the change into an *urar*. There seem to be some grounds for the suggestion that the solicitude of his relatives for him during this period may be intended to ease the transition. For example, he is provided with the food to which he is accustomed, because he has not yet learnt to eat the food of the *urar*.

Throughout the description of the funerary rites, the spirit of 775
the dead person is never referred to as *urar*, but always as *abin*, a

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[1] One of the women, who was my especial friend, was always urging me to come to the services, on the ground that, if I did not, when I died I would be 'put in the big fire'.

he was. One of the other men excused his behaviour to me, saying 158
that an *urar* had got him. When he saw me he called out to me that
an *urar* was inside him. The attack appeared to be passing off, for 775
he added, in a more rational tone, that to-morrow he would tell me 828
what the *urar* had done to him, at the same time pulling his loincloth over his body. Next day he came to me looking very ill, and asked for medicine, saying he had a headache. I gave him some aspirin and questioned him about the occurrence of the day before, but he said he could remember nothing about it. My servant said that was what always happened to people who were seized by *urar*, and that the headache was the usual sequel.

The second incident happened a few days later. Late one evening the village was in a state of great commotion, with much shouting 158
and scurrying about and barking of dogs. Several men rushed up on to my verandah and shut themselves in the room, adjacent to my own part of the house, occupied by my servant. They said Pinari (the *tsunaun*) was *iburar* and was chasing them all. Shortly afterwards he came tearing past the fence, howling in a weird fashion, and threw something, which fell with a crash. Presently a boy came and said that Pinari had been found lying across his brother's grave in the old graveyard, and taken home, and that they thought he would be all right.

When I asked after Pinari next morning his wife said he was very 158
ill. In the afternoon she came to beg some biscuits for him, 'because his mouth could not eat taro'. I visited him on the afternoon 775
of the following day. He seemed pleased to see me but talked quite 828
incoherently, chiefly about 'poisoning'. I could make nothing of
any of it. Next day he seemed much better, and gave me an account
of what had happened. He said he had been cleaning the road near [788
the old graveyard, and had omitted the usual ceremony of blowing 177]
lime over the road to send away the *urar*, because the priest had forbidden it. The *urar* were angry with him and made him mad. He went to church, and on his way back he saw an *urar*. It was one of his brothers. It was standing beside the banana palm that grows near his house. Then he went mad and fought every one. Then he went to the graveyard and saw his brothers and his mother, and one brother seized him by the back of the neck and another by the legs. They were angry because he had not blown lime for them or given them food. His mother cried over him, so they let him go and he ran and ran and ran and came to Tarongen (this is a hamlet

158 775 828 some five miles away, he had not had time to go there in reality before he was caught), and then he came back and took the road to the old village (in which the brothers had died) and one of the *urar* told him to come along with them. Then his son came and took his arm and told him he must not run after people, and brought him back to his own house, and he went to sleep. Since then his back and his legs had been hurting him. He looked terribly thin and worn, like a person recovering after a long illness.

The third case, which followed seven days after the one just described, was that of Tchiriv, a young man aged about twenty-five. He was lying on the front verandah of one of the huts, during a dance, when he suddenly jumped up and ran about shouting and throwing in all directions the pile of logs which were kept under the verandah for use as firewood. The people all ran away and shut themselves into their houses. He seized hold of a big *mabu* (musical instrument made of a hollowed log with a mouthpiece of coco-nut, an article of value) belonging to a neighbour, and smashed it all to pieces. Presently four of the younger men rushed up to him together, and seized him, and brought him, kicking and [755] struggling, to a bench outside one of the huts, where they held him down, screaming, while another man blew powdered lime over him.[1] Presently he quietened down and was put to bed in his hut. The next day he remained indoors, and they said he was sick. Matarē said he didn't know that he had broken Togen's *mabu*; when they told him he would be very sorry and would pay for it. [788 177] Matarē told me that Tchiriv said he had been to the graveyard to get some coco-nuts from the trees there, and because the priest had forbidden it, he did not make a fire and burn some taro for the *urar*, so that they should not be angry with him for taking coco-nuts from their ground. So the *urar* were angry with him and made him mad. I did not see him at all that day until the evening, when he came out of the hut, which was very near to my house, and walked past my fence with his eyes turned away. I took no notice of him at that time, but next day when I found him standing by the fence, looking sheepish, I made a friendly remark to him. He seemed startled, but soon after came up on to my verandah and

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[824] [1] There is also a plant, called *pindi*, the leaves of which, if chewed with the betel-mixture and spat on to the head of the affected person, will cause the *urar* to leave him.

killed. In both the stone is washed, the one at Tiop with blood, 324
Mubenoits with the water in which the pig has been cooked. In 778
both paint is put on the stone, and food brought to it. But Mubenoits does not appear to be associated with the cicatrization of children, and the ceremonies held in connexion with it seem, as far as I could gather, to have been inaugurated some little time after what I take to have been its rediscovery in the bush, apparently about a generation ago. Whatever significance the stone now called Mubenoits may originally have possessed was clearly not known to its present owners, who adopted it as important on account of its peculiar appearance, which is in striking contrast to the shapeless chunks of rough honeycombed dolomitic limestone
forming the cliffs near by. It seems clear that the Mubenoits [177]
ritual is not a survival, but a newly instituted affair. There is a certain amount of intercourse between Kurtatchi and Tiop, so the possibility of borrowing cannot be entirely ruled out. However this may be, there is perhaps some ground on which to base an hypothesis that the stone pillars and the slab-shaped structures at Tiop belong to one and the same series of monuments.

Without laying too much stress on the parallel, it is perhaps 324
worthy of note that stone structures comparable with both of these 171
occur in another area which, though distant, is known to have cultural affinities with Melanesia—the Naga Hills in Assam. There is, at Dimapur in the Naga Hills, a series of ancient monoliths, some of which carry carved patterns bearing a very remarkable resemblance to those on the pillar at Iltopan called 'A Pi'.[1] These appear to have been set up as memorials of feasts, a practice which is still in vogue among the Nagas, as an adjunct to sacrificial ceremonies 'which can only be performed when the giver of the feast enjoys exceptional prosperity', so that the posts now erected 'are associated, even if indirectly, with the fertility of crops and cattle' (Hutton, 1922 (i), p. 57). There is reason to believe that the ancient monuments also possessed a phallic significance, and that they were connected with sacrifices, probably human. I have no evidence that the stone pillars of Buka are regarded as phallic symbols at the present day, but from their appearance it would seem not unlikely that they may originally have been so intended.

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[1] These are figured in a paper by J. H. Hutton (1922 (i), Pl. 1). I am indebted to Mr. E. S. Thomas, of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, for drawing my attention to the similarity in design.

man's shadow, his reflection in a glass or in a pool of water, or his 828 'spirit' while he is still alive, but never for the spirits of the dead, the word for which is always *urar*). 774 On one occasion a man, after telling me his dream, asked me: 'Where does our spirit (using the word *abin*) go when we dream?' I said I didn't know. Then he said: 'The night fools us; we see something in our sleep and we think it is true.'

A more sophisticated explanation, given by a young man of 828 Petats, who had had some contact with white people, runs as 177 follows: 'If a man eats too much, and then goes to sleep, his belly is too full, and the blood in his skin turns round and round all the time, and the blood runs into his eyes while he is asleep; then he sees a bad man, just like the men who are dead; the man wants to fight him. Or else he sees a friend belonging to another place who comes and talks to him.'

They divide their dreams quite definitely into two classes. One 828 informant, talking pidgin-English, said to me: 'Some dreams are true, some are gammon.' 'Gammon' is used in pidgin-English for anything false or deceiving, for nonsense, or for a deception intended to tease. In telling dreams which they class as 'gammon' they often conclude the account by saying: 'I got up and said, "Oh, what have I been doing, I have been dreaming, that's all".' Or, as one man put it, 'Then I woke and thought it was true and I was very sorry, and I went to look, and it was all right, so I knew the night had deceived me.'

Of the dreams of the other class—those held to be 'true', it is 828 fair to say, as Dr. Seligman suggests (1932, p. 216), that 'the dream 787 is a significant mental element in waking life upon which a man may be ready to act and for which he is prepared to suffer'. Instances of this are not wanting in my collection. If a man dreams of cohabiting with a woman who is taboo to him, it is as bad as if he had actually done so. After telling how he had dreamed of going to fish for bonito and being pursued by a shark, the dreamer volunteered the statement: 'If there had been a cry of "*Atün*" (bonito, see p. 327) to-day I would not have gone out, if there is one to-morrow I will not go either, but after a few days it will be all right.' Well knowing the excitement and the rush to put to sea that invariably attend upon the cry of '*Atün*', I realized that to refrain from joining in the expedition was a very real deprivation which would only be tolerated under pressure of an equally real

Wanias back, and all the women came back, and I lay down on the ground; then I got up again, and all the women went back to the shore. This is a good dream because I did not feel ill when I woke up. 154 159

The following is the dream of a younger boy—also wearing the *upi*:

No. 54. Wasaman (aged about 10 or 11).

I dreamed that a man was having connexion with his wife, and the woman said: 'Now you come and help me.' Then an *urar* came behind them and beat me, and the woman cried over me. The woman was Erut. Then her husband, Pasab, came up, and cried over me, and the *urar* came and beat them both and said: 'Are you crying over a boy belonging to your village? You go and cry over the people of your own village. What do you mean by crying over a boy belonging to another village? You go and cry in your own village. What are you crying for?' Then the *urar* came to me, and a *pinari* was with him, and they killed me outright and I died.

Comments by dreamer. This is a bad dream. I thought it was true. When they were playing *sato* last night I went off to bed, all by myself. I was cross because I had lost all my tobacco. Then I dreamed this dream, and woke up in a fright, and went back to the *sato* and watched it without playing.

Comments by recorder. The persons mentioned are two villagers, not connected with the dreamer; they are happily married. *Pinari* is the name of a class of creature resembling our 'goblins' who live in the bush. It is also the personal name of the principal man in the village. *Sato* is a gambling game recently introduced from the British Solomons. [515 They frequently play all night, and are very querulous afterwards. There 177] would appear to be some significance in the insistence on the fact of the boy belonging to *another* village (which is not true).

The other dreams related to me by boys wearing the *upi* have no manifest sexual content, but are typical boyish dreams; some of them are given in other connexions (see No. 46, p. 558).

Of the women's dreams, several seem to indicate by their manifest content some sort of sexual conflict. Those of one dreamer have been discussed in this connexion by Dr. Seligman (1932, p. 218) and need not be repeated here. The married life of the woman in question did not come under my personal observation, as she was a widow whose husband belonged to a distant village. But the little information which I could elicit from her about him, and the fact that she had refused to marry his brother on his death, but elected to return to her own village, bringing her children with her,

INFLUENCE OF WHITE CONTACT ON NATIVE DREAMS

159 177 The effect on dreams of the changes brought about by contact with whites, and of the conflict, conscious or unconscious, arising out of such contact, does not figure very largely in my collection of dreams from Kurtatchi. But it is seen in some dreams recorded on the island of Pororan[1] by Mr. Gordon Thomas, who kindly placed them at my disposal. Some of these are here given in illustration of this aspect of the subject.

159 Dreamed by Koran, Mission teacher, aged about 35.

I saw men coming down to the beach near the big calophyllum tree, and they looked across the lagoon towards the Mission station, and they asked me what was the matter with the houses at the Mission as they appeared to be all alight; glowing as with a fire. Afterwards I went in my canoe over to the Mission and met there the Fathers, with whom I shook hands. After I had shaken hands with them I asked a schoolboy there: 'Where are the Fathers going?' He replied that they were going to Bei (a mountain village about five miles away). I asked why the Fathers were going to Bei, and he replied that the natives there wished to make trouble with the Fathers, so the Fathers wished to visit them and punish them. The Fathers then held Mass and afterwards stood on the beach looking across at Bei point. While they looked they could see the *Marsina* (a small inter-island steamer) anchored there. The Fathers wished to board the mission schooner, but before they could reach the wharf the rain started, and they decided to remain at the Mission station.

At the end of a long dream concerning fishing, the following passage occurs:

There were several steamers anchored at the Kessa point, and there seemed to be a number of European houses there. I went ashore and the place seemed to be like Sydney. (The dreamer has never been in Sydney or any large city.) I met one of the Fathers here and we went aboard one of the steamers, and then on to another steamer. The weather was cold like it must be in Australia. I met another Father here and he told me to go and sleep in a bed. I went, and it was like a white man's bed and had a mosquito net. I pulled ten blankets over me as it was so cold. Then I went to church with the Fathers and they said Mass. When this was finished we had something to eat. It was good food from tins, like white people eat. When the food was finished we

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797 [1] The island of Pororan, off the west coast of Buka, lies on the steamer route and is frequently visited by white people. It has had a resident native Mission teacher (Roman Catholic) for some years, and on the Buka coast, about five miles away, there is a Roman Catholic Mission station and school.

On the islands situated to the southeast bows and arrows are less im- 171
portant as instruments of war; there we find artistically woven shields 174
and carefully wrought clubs (which recently have been displaced to a great extent by longhandled iron axes), whereas shields are completely absent in Bougainville and on the neighboring islands and clubs play
a very minor rôle. The excellent arms of the northwestern Solomon 411
Islanders have protected them for generations against the attacks of 726
the headhunters from Vella Lavella and New Georgia. The latter have always ravaged the islands of Choiseul and Ysabel, but greatly feared the noiseless arrows of our region, which struck their mark from the distance so surely and effectively. And although in recent times the headhunters, especially from Australia, are well provided with firearms despite all prohibitions, they still do not dare to extend their raids farther than northern Choiseul. I have unfortunately frequently had the opportunity to find out personally how unprotected one feels against the silently flying arrows even if one is equipped with the best firearms.

Although my observations are incomplete and defective with re- 177
gard to the interior tribes, I still felt that I was justified in publishing them: in part to supplement the observations of earlier writings about the Solomon Islands; and in part to arouse interest once again in these islands which are highly remarkable in every respect. The New Guinea Company in Berlin, which, by virtue of a royal letter of safe-conduct, is the actual ruler of this unknown region, unfortunately is not following the footsteps of the old Hamburg firm of Johann Cäsar Godeffroy, to which scholarship is indebted for extensive information about a great part of the South Seas. As a result of contact with the whites, which increases from year to year, many characteristic features are slowly beginning to disappear even on the northwestern Solomon Islands. Stone axes, for example, are no longer in actual use along the coast of Bougainville; they have been completely displaced by axes and knives of iron. Even among the inland tribes the new implements have replaced the old ones, though only quite recently. Only in the interior can one still occasionally obtain stone axes with the original handle, but on the coast the old implements must first be sought out laboriously from rubbish heaps, and even older people no longer know how to make the original binding. On the spears that formerly were prepared with the most minute care one now frequently finds strips of gaudy cotton material that are supposed to replace the former fine weaving. In the boats they now make use of sails (of white or bright-colored cotton material), which formerly were never used, since the boats were propelled exclusively by oars. Settlements and plantations

of white colonists do not exist in Bougainville even today, but since 177
the island affords great stretches of the finest soil, and in addition favorable sites for anchoring and landing, the time is certainly not far off when tropical agriculture in modern form will enter there, too, and then even the last vestiges of traditional culture will come to a rapid end as has been the case everywhere else in the South Sea Islands.

Stanley entitled his travel book about Africa Through the Dark Continent, but a depiction of Bougainville that is exhaustive in every respect could justifiably bear the title: "From the Darkest Part of a Dark Island World." 000

[4] Character of the People

Older reports as a rule give an incorrect portrayal of the character 181
of the islanders; there was a general tendency to consider them among the wildest of the South Sea inhabitants. It must be conceded that on first acquaintance they do not inspire much confidence; the naked almost black figures with their sparkling eyes, lively gesticulation, and the excellent arms they always have at hand on land as well as at sea, necessarily arouse distrust -- all the more so since their former numerous warlike encounters with the whites and their reputation of being vicious cannibals seem to confirm the preconceived notion.

I will say no more about conflicts with the whites. In most cases 721
the natives were acting defensively, and wherever a real attack upon white men can be proved, the reason must frequently enough be regarded as an act of vengeance for some preceding injustice. Indeed it cannot be denied that there are among the islanders also bad individuals who, for the sake of profit and in order to acquire the valuable goods of the whites more easily, do not hesitate to apply force; but cases of this sort occur everywhere in the world.

As workers and servants the islanders are loyal and reliable; they 181
are not particularly intelligent and at the beginning of their service [153]
require much training before they comprehend what they have to do, but once they have comprehended this, then one can rely on them to do their duty without constant supervision. At home they do not 181
work excessively hard, for they have no nose for profit or accumulating 461
material possessions; however, they always have sufficient food and [556]
keep their plantations in good order; they see to it that they have good dwellings and take great pains in the construction of their boats,

smaller, basketlike, square container is attached above this platform. 501
Both are used for storing all sorts of things: fish, implements,
baskets of food, etc. The ornamentation of these boats is not very [531]
careful; some have, on the prow as well as the stern, individual
geometrical figures painted black and red, others a similarly painted
figure of a bird, and still others the grotesque human figure executed
in bas relief, which we find so often in the northwestern Solomon
Islands and which is characteristic for this region. By far the greatest
number of dugouts have no ornamentation at all. They are to be
found in Nissan, on the Carteret Islands, in Buka and on the coast 501
of Bougainville--especially in the north and in the east--as well as 174
on the islands of the Bougainville Strait. Recently they have begun 177
making sails of cotton material; yet older islanders assured me repeatedly
that this was an innovation that was not known in their
youth. In a few places, for example Carola Harbor and the Shortland
Islands, I was able to date the first appearance of sails. In the former
place sails of cotton material were first introduced in 1890; in the
Shortland Islands no one had sails in the year 1885, but in the year
1888 they were quite common. In their cut these sails imitate a
European spar boat sail [Spriet-Bootsegel] From this it can probably
be concluded that the use of sails is an innovation of most recent
times and a simple imitation of European sails.

By far the greatest care is expended on the construction of the 396
large boats built of boards. Guppy gives an exhaustive description 171
of the ones from the southeastern Solomon Islands and the Shortland
Islands. The big boats in Nissan, Buka, and northern Bougainville
differ slightly in form from those in the Shortland Islands, although
the arrangement of the boards is exactly the same as Guppy describes.
The individual boards are first split with an ax from the felled trunk
and planed as carefully as possible; in order [34] to make the not
very hard wood more resistant, they char the sides slightly. First
two long boards are attached together and form the bottom of the boat
so that the joint follows the keel line. The side boards are likewise
attached to these keel planks; three or four rows, and more rarely
five, suffice to build up the sides. The prow and stem are constructed
high and pointed from two planks which meet at a very acute angle.
In the Shortland Islands as a rule they are much longer and almost
vertical, and in the north more curved, but everywhere ornamented. [531]

As far as nets are concerned, I observed seines of great length everywhere. Their breadth or depth varies from 75 centimeters to 2 meters, and the length from 50 to 300 meters. The very large nets are always the common property of a village or the inhabitants of a small island. In addition, one finds also the hand nets described by Guppy, which are fastened to a frame that is open at the bottom. These also have the most varied sizes. There are small ones, about 1 1/2 meters long, and others that are 8 to 10 meters long. As a rule these nets are used in such a way that a whole group of men surround a school of fish and then, with nets set adjacent to one another, gradually decrease the size of the circle so that the fish cannot escape. Fishing by means of square nets, which are fastened to the four corners of a cross of bamboo cane, does not extend on the east side of Bougainville any farther north than the Martin Islands. In sheltered waters one frequently sees high frames of thin tree trunks or bamboo canes, between which spread nets hang. The fisherman sits on the frame and drops the net, in which normally some bait is placed, into the sea; when he sees that fish are swimming above it, he cautiously raises it and thus catches the prey. 226 227 [422]

Fishing by means of a kite is carried on all the way to Buka. The kite is made from a type of broad palm leaves; the light cord to which it is attached is fastened to the boat; another string, from which a fish hook hangs, extends from the kite to the surface of the sea. The boat is propelled against the wind by its occupants; if a fish bites, the kite sinks, and the catch is pulled in. On the high seas one frequently sees bonitos being caught with hooks. Here it is necessary that the boat be propelled rapidly. Therefore bonito fishing takes place in the large fast boats that are manned by many rowers. Then a long fishing rod of bamboo is set out on the right and on the left, and to each is attached an approximately 30 meter line, and to this the hook. [177] ● Iron fishhooks have replaced in part the original hook, but the latter still preferred for bonito catching. This hook has great similarity to the fishhook of the Polynesians; the rather long arm, to which the line is fastened, is a piece of tridachna shell of, at most, 9 centimeters in length and 1/2 centimeter in width with an oblong oval cross section. At the upper end a notch is cut so that the line may be fastened better; at the lower end there are two or three notches on each side, which serve to secure the approximately 4 centimeter long curved, very sharp hook of tortoise shell. [321]

On the reefs fish are caught with a spear, and also with arrows.

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Petats
Kurtatchi

FOLK STORIES FROM THE NORTHERN SOLOMONS.

[*Read at a Meeting, 20th January*, 1932.]

114 The stories which form the subject of the present paper were collected between September 1929 and October 1930, while I was living among the natives of Buka and Bougainville, the two most northerly of the Solomon Islands.[1] The first three months were spent on the small island of Petats, off the west coast of Buka; the remaining nine on the north coast of Bougainville, mainly at a village called Kurtatchi, with excursions into the surrounding country as opportunity offered. In consequence of the work of the Methodist [17] Mission, the people of Petats have come to a considerable extent under White influence, but the village of Kurtatchi is still comparatively little affected by contact with the White Man. The examples here given are selected out of a large number, obtained chiefly in these two villages, but as I also took every opportunity of recording stories heard in the course of visits paid to other localities in company with my native friends, my collection is probably fairly representative of the tales told throughout Buka and the northern portion of Bougainville.

126 As a guarantee of good faith, I will first give some account of the circumstances under which the stories were obtained. After my evening meal, I used to hang up my hurricane lantern on that side of my verandah which served as my study. Very soon a little group of natives would gather

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[22] [1] My work in the Solomon Islands was undertaken as part of a programme of field studies initiated by the Institute of Human Relations, University of Yale. My most grateful thanks are due to the Institute for the generous financial support accorded me. The University of Oxford granted me leave of absence from my Demonstratorship in order that I might take advantage of this opportunity.

contents of one of my note-books, picked at random, shows 126
that out of 49 stories, old or elderly men were responsible for 12, old or elderly women for 10, young men for 11, young women for 14, a boy and a girl for one each.

At the outset of my work I took down the stories in [198]
Pidgin English, with which many of the younger men were acquainted as they had worked as indentured labourers on coconut plantations. From these I chose, as carefully as I could, those who seemed best suited to act as interpreters for the older men, the stories being translated sentence by sentence.

The dialect spoken on the island of Petats has been re- 126
duced to writing by Rev. A. H. Cropp, who has for many 212
years been working on Buka as Methodist Missionary.[1] He 177
used our own alphabet, adapted by means of certain conventions to fit the sounds of the language. Some of the younger men have learnt to write under his tuition. One of these wrote out for me, in the Petats dialect, several stories as told by his father, an old man of considerable standing. Except for these, the stories I collected on Petats and Buka were all taken down in Pidgin English.

During my stay at Kurtatchi, however, I accustomed 126
myself to the use of the native dialect, on which no previous work has been done. I employed a simplified form of the International Phonetic System, but without attempting to record the finer shades of pronunciation, in which there is considerable individual variation. The natives soon learnt to talk slowly enough for me to write from their dictation, and at the end of a story I read out what I had written to the assembled company, who were not slow to correct me when I made a mistake. Then, or subsequently, I went over the text again, sentence by sentence, with one of the natives who spoke good Pidgin English, writing down the Pidgin

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[1] Mr. Cropp very kindly allowed me to make use of his MS. dictionary and grammatical notes on the Petats dialect, which have been of great assistance to me.

535 The Buka dance or *guma* is an uninteresting spectacle. Unlike
other Melanesian dances there is very little action and the
[539] accompanying singing is but a constant repetition of "O-a-o-a"
in as many keys as the human voice is capable of rendering. The
men walk slowly around in a circle while the women, standing some
ten yards away, advance to the edge of the circle from time to time
and in pairs bend their bodies backwards and forwards, or in threes
and fours skip sideways to and fro. From a distance the singing
is often harmonious, but when heard at close quarters it is both
ear-splitting and appalling to a musical listener.

[534] The singing is accompanied by the beating of the hollowed-out
202 wooden drums (*tui*) with series of short staccato raps from the soft-nosed beaters. These *tui* can be heard for many miles when weather
conditions are favourable and are used extensively for signalling.
Some of the Buka districts have elaborate *tui* codes, and are able to
send detailed messages from village to village. Among the more
[763] simplified signals is that denoting a death and is made by ten long
beats, pause, three short, pause, three short, pause, five short, pause,
five short, pause, and ten long. When a man is annoyed over
something (his wife has failed to cook the taro, or a pig has died)
and he wishes to "tell the world" he raps out ten long beats, a
pause, then another ten long beats. The arrival of a stranger in a
village is denoted by three long beats, pause, followed by three series
of seven short beats interspersed with pauses. The general call to
assemble in a village is three series of three shorts and one long
beat.

302 The men usually wear their hair long and combed upright.
[846] The hair of a woman is close-cropped, except when she has given
birth to a child and then it is allowed to grow long until the child
is able to crawl about. The women wear a hood made from pandanus
291 leaves sewn horizontally together, with every other leaf dyed red
386 with the root of a bush. This custom is to prevent certain of their
male relatives from seeing their hair, which is taboo. A loin cloth
291 of red or coloured print serves as the general garment for both sexes.
177 A few years ago the women wore a small grass *tahu*, and in former
days the men wore no covering.

534 Even to this day the process is similar except that steel chisels and ● [177] adzes have been brought into play by the experts.

The size of the *tui* varies. On Pororan Island (situated five [184] miles west of the Buka mainland) there are three standard sizes: the *tui*, the *halan* and the *king*. The former measures about eight feet long and four feet high; the *halan*, five feet by two feet, and the *king* three feet by one foot.

The fact that the word *tui* is used for the large drum and *king* for the smaller size prompted me to make searching enquiry as to their etymological origin to see if I might connect them with the Fijian *tui* (king) but, so far as I can gather, the words originated simply from their close resemblance to the sound which both these instruments make.

202 For signalling the *tui* is used exclusively, and one is to be found in every *tsuhan*, or master's house, in the village. The beating is done by hitting the drum sharply, near the top in the centre with the soft-nosed *tsinoi*, or beater, which consists of a number of thick [124] strips of the lawyer vine about six feet in length, bound closely together at the striking end, allowing the other end of the strips to remain loose. These, by a certain twist of the wrist, create a rustling accompaniment to the beats when excitement runs high during a dance. No special men in a village are invested with the privilege of beating a *tui*, though uninitiated boys are not supposed to do so. Women, on the occasion of their own dances, are allowed to beat one.

535 During dances (*guma*) the *tui* and *king* are used. The *king* 533 commences and continues with a uniform series of short beats, which attain a higher and more penetrating note than the deep-toned *tui*, even as the word *king* when pronounced sharply. The *tui* beats are varied according to the humour and the ability of the man employed as beater. Usually the beats are:

— — — ...... — — — — ......—[1]

Beats continue for a period of from one to two minutes and then *tui* and *king* cease simultaneously, the signal being two or three louder beats made on the *tui*. If the cessation of beats is not simul-

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[1] A long beat is represented by a dash; a short one by a dot.

202 9. General dancing and singing (*guma*).

10. Killing of a captive (man) for food (*kura kura*).

11. Theft (*kope-hope*) : — — — — — — — — — — — — ..

12. To ripen the *wungal* (nut). One is placed in the fire and is followed by : .. .. —

13. To drive away sickness. All men armed with coconut leaves, sticks and spears proceed to the village boundary while the women remain in the houses and each *tui* in the village signals in turn : .... —

Counting is done by repeating the signal — . — . — (which is shown in the "purchase of a wife" signal to the extent of nine, representing the fathoms of native money paid). In counting food such as taro, coconuts, etc., when numbers exceed ten then the signal is abbreviated to — . — for each item. All counting is done by the one code. When a feast is about to be held natives from neighbouring villages are able to ascertain the number of pigs that have been killed for the feast, and also how far the preparations have progressed in order to time their arrival at the scene of feasting at an opportune moment.

News of importance, *e.g.*, the arrival of a government official, is relayed from village to village. In the Solos district the natives also detail the number of police-boys, carriers and boxes in the party.

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177 In recent years as a result of the influence of the white man, the younger generation who are losing many of the old tribal customs, are inclined to improvise new beats for the dance accompaniments based on the staccato noise of a schooner's auxiliary engine exhaust. This, unfortunately, is but one of the many innovations which are being introduced through white influence, and, in the next decade or so, many of the old-time customs will have disappeared entirely.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE INITIATION CEREMONY OF PORORAN

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177 The Ndook ceremony for the initiation of youths on Pororan at the present time is similar, in many respects, to that which was performed on full-grown men in the earlier days, though previously greater secrecy was maintained and admission was not granted to every man, but reserved as a mark of merit or honour amongst the

fighting-men. This change is but another proof of the decadence 881
of old-time customs in Buka. [177] ●

Initiates of today range from nine to fifteen years of age. They undergo no particular preparation other than strict instructions to do as they are told by the older men. Initiates are called *tseezen*, those already initiated are termed *putz-putzi*, and the chiefs, masters and headmen are known as *muri-na-lium*.

When a meeting of *muri-na-lium* decides to hold a Ndook ceremony (such decision being governed by the number of candidates available) word is sent to all *putz-putzi* one or two months prior to the fixed date. A general meeting is held and ways and means decided upon for obtaining taro; the making of *makot* (scraped taro and coconut oil); the guests to be invited; those *muri-na-lium* who will exhibit totem figures, and the number of *bahuan* figures that will be made. The supplying of pigs is left to one or two of the older chiefs who secretly despatch a third man to the houses of owners of good fat pigs. This man stealthily thrusts a thick stick, [202] used for carrying trussed pigs, through the doors of the pig-owners. This is a direct sign from Ndook that the owner must provide a pig [683] for the spirit. Failure to do so would entail death. Such penalties have been enforced even of late years.

The totem figures are called *malai*, and are representative of 778 either the *hekiliau* (bush fowl) or *naboin* (sea hawk) totems, which 532 are the only two existing in Buka. The figures, carved from soft timber, take the form of a huge bird gaudily painted with native [316] pigments, stencil ink purloined from some neighbouring plantation, or washing blue. They represent the spirit of a deceased chief or headman belonging to the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting the *malai*. Usually four or five *malai* appear at a ceremony from one village.

The *bahuan*, or secondary spirits (considering Ndook as being 776 of the first order), consist of wooden images seven to eight feet 778 high carved also from soft wood (see Plate II, A). They are attached 532 at the base to long sticks which enable them to be lifted by the *putz-putzi*, who are covered with leaves or bushes. The *bahuan* also represent deceased chiefs of the same totem as the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting them. Keen rivalry is evinced in making these carvings. Sometimes the arms, mouth, tongue, penis or hands are manipulated

881 [553] breach is death. The chief now gives each initiate a new name, which must never be changed or dropped. The names chosen are those of deceased *puts-putsi*, who thus continue, in name, to be present at such ceremonies. This custom is for the pleasure of Ndook as well as for the spirits of the departed.

While this is in progress one or more *muri-na-lium* visit the village where the women are still wailing and relate how So-and-so has been dissected by Ndook: his legs are in one island, his head in another, and his arms in still another. Occasionally one of the men smears his body with pig's blood and, standing before several of the women, relates how he was holding his child when Ndook killed him in his arms. Similar anecdotes are related by the newly initiated when they return to their mothers. The explanation for their safe return is that after Ndook had appeased his appetite with pig and taro he relented and restored them to their mothers.

Food is then divided, and as each section or village receives its portion, the men, placing the baskets on their heads, dance in the centre of the ground. They then retire to consume the food, which is known as *goagon* (sacred food). The women are not told that the men eat the food, which is ostensibly supplied for the consumption of Ndook, who if not well fed will wreak his vengeance upon the initiates. All traces of food are removed from the person and hands and faces washed before the men return to the village. They usually pretend to be hungry, and ask at once for something to eat.

842 845 The natives of Pororan believe that if a married man has sexual intercourse with his wife on the same night that he returns from a ceremony then she will bear twins. If a pregnant woman crosses the path made by Ndook in his travels the child when born will be deformed.

177 778 881 [532] [137] The inclusion of the wooden carvings in the Pororan Ndook ceremony is only of very recent origin, dating from 1928. They are copies of the images used in the Sailou district, north Bougainville, where initiation ceremonies form a far more important part of the ceremonial life than on Buka. These images were first imported into Malasang district, south Buka, in about 1920, being purchased with native money. From here they found their way to Hanahan. Prior to this date there were no images, and the ceremony consisted

777 778 881 chiefly of lewd dancing and feasting. Boys were often initiated when little more than babies. They were snatched from their mothers' arms and taken to the bush. Coconut water was poured over them and their skins covered with broken pieces of leaf and grass. On being returned to their mothers it was explained that the children had been eaten by Ndook, passed through his stomach and evacuated. The slime and grass gave proof to this story.

881 Though great importance is attached to this ceremony now, I am of the opinion that the clandestine feasting and the desire to exhibit better images than other districts are of greater import to the *muri-na-lium* than the actual initiation ceremony. The prominence which is given to the *bahuan* and *malai* images seems to point to a form of spirit cult which is of but recent introduction. The time devoted to the *tseezen* is negligible in comparison with the labour expended upon the carvings, the preparation of food and the various deceptions practised upon the women.

[illegible] The legend regarding the discovery of the *liahan* seems to point to the fact that the original idea of the Ndook ceremony was to enable the men to foregather secretly in the bush and there gorge themselves with food and give vent to lewd dances without the encumbrance or interference of the women.

773 534 The *liahan* or bull-roarer according to Pororan legend was discovered by a woman while she was cutting firewood in the bush. A piece of the wood hurtled through the air and made a mysterious noise. Curiosity prompted her to tie a piece of vine to the wood and whirl it about her head. Picking up her bundle of firewood she placed the thin blade with the vine attached on top and started homeward. On her way she met her husband, who noticed the blade and enquired the reason for the attached vine. She gave him an illustration. He confiscated it and showed it to several of the headmen. It was a novelty, something which had never been seen before. They decided it should be used as the voice of the god or spirit Liahan. The women was killed and the secret kept only amongst the older men. They said that the omnipotent Liahan was demanding food. When it had been collected this food was taken into the bush and eaten by the headmen and the chiefs.

GORDON THOMAS